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This book has immense readability, is as exciting as a crime, mystery, and diplomacy story rolled into one, yet authoritative enough to be a text-book on the subject.

WAR CRIMINALS AND PUNISHMENT

WAR CRIMINALS AND PUNISHMENT

by
GEORGE CREEL

HUTCHINSON & CO. (*Publishers*) LTD.
LONDON ; NEW YORK ; MELBOURNE ; SYDNEY



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Received On

Made and Printed in Great Britain at

Greycaines

(Taylor Garnett Evans & Co. Ltd.)
Watford, Herts.

TO

WILLIAM L. CHENERY and CHARLES COLE-
BAUGH, my editors but still my friends, who
started me on this book by suggesting a series
for *Collier's* that we called "The Guilty".
Their permission to use much of the material
is gratefully acknowledged.

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AUTHOR'S FOREWORD

THE UNITED NATIONS, individually and collectively, have given repeated pledges that Axis terrorists will be made to answer for their crimes against the laws of God and man. Even so, it is well to remember that similar promises, declared by the Allies and Associated Governments when the Kaiser's hordes ravaged Europe, were dishonoured and went unkept. With the dead deep buried, shattered men hidden from sight in hospital and asylum, and peoples preoccupied with problems of reconstruction, maudlin sentimentalists were permitted to drip their poison into every well of public opinion. As a result, the merciless brutes of that other day were shown mercy out of a preposterous assumption that demands for punishment necessarily proceeded from the baser emotions.

It will be so again unless the abominations of Hitler and his gangsters are made the burden of full report, and burned into the consciousness of the world. Not to excite hate but to assure justice. Not to provoke mass reprisals but to guard against them. Not in any vengeful spirit but that civilization may be vindicated, and future generations warned against conquest and rapine as instruments of national policy. That is why the Master Criminals, the Little Hitlers, the Little Himmlers and the quislings have been dealt with in detail in this book.

I have also deemed it vital to consider at length the fantastic theory, advanced by camouflaged Nazis and Germanophiles, that Hitler does not represent the German people. This combination, joining sentimentality with sinister purpose, pleads that the Fuehrer has imposed himself by force; and were he removed, either by defeat or death, Germans would return joyfully to their pipes and books, their poetry, symphonies and musical festivals, and once again be seen and respected as simple, kindly, peaceful folk, abhorring war and unconcerned with conquest and world empire.

It is the ultimate in falsehood and gullibility. Save for a helpless minority, mostly in prison or concentration camps, Hitler *is* the German people, and Nazism constitutes a perfect expression of the majority's mind, heart, and soul because it is what Germans have been taught for more than a century; teachings taken in with mother's milk, and injected throughout infancy, adolescence and adult life by school-teachers, professors, poets, philosophers, historians, rulers, soldiers and statesmen. Not sporadically, but steadily and systematically, generation by generation, until convictions of superiority and supremacy dominated the nation's thought and action; convictions so ruthless that death was the penalty for dissent.

Hitler may proclaim his credo as original doctrine, born of brooding over the sorrows and wrongs of an "oppressed" people, but the boast has no base in fact. The Will to Power, War Worship, the deification of the State, regimentation, Aryanism, the Pure Race, *Herrenmoral* and *Herdennmoral*, anti-Semitism, savagery, ill faith, all of it is old stuff, only given an effect of newness by the Fuehrer's apocalyptic style. Every line of *Mein Kampf* was first written, and better written, by Fichte, Hegel, Clausewitz, Treitschke, Nietzsche, Bernhardt and others less famous but equally assured that the Germans were a Chosen People divinely appointed to rule the world.

Freedom-loving Germans resisted these monstrous perversions in many bloody uprisings, but death and exile were their portions. Every generation witnessed its *hegiras*, liberals fleeing their homeland as from a house of bondage, giving to other lands the courage and abilities that Germany resented. As

Nietzsche testified, "All true Teutons went abroad." Led by Carl Schurz, Franz Sigel and Friedrich Hecker, hundreds of thousands emigrated to the United States, enriching the native stock, and rising to high place. Had they remained in Germany, hate and persecution would have been their lot, with every swaggering lieutenant entitled to kick them off the pavement.

All is a matter of record. Nothing is left to doubt or debate. Every page of history indicts the German people no less than tribal leaders. In 1939, as in 1914, it was an entire population that struck its tents, fused into a brutal whole by the fanatical faith that universal dominion was both destiny and duty. Having shared in guilt, the German people must share the punishment for that guilt. Anything else mocks justice and ends all hope of world peace.

If I have dealt only with German crimes and criminals—except for a brief consideration of Mussolini—it is not because the Japanese are less bestial. The omission is due entirely to lack of authenticated material. No word leaks out of any occupied territory, and the Chinese, without time for anything but desperate resistance, have not begun the collection of evidence and the publication of detailed reports. Barring Tojo himself, Hirohito's fanatics torture and massacre behind a wall of secrecy that has not yet been shattered.

Not the least reason is the mistaken policy of our own high command. Atrocity is Japan's order of the day—every imaginable barbarity has been practised from the first—but out of a claimed fear of still greater savagery the U.S. War Department and the Navy have ruled against the publication of horrors in the Pacific. Returned soldiers have told of obscene mutilations and Apache fiendishness—captives tied to ant-hills after having their wounds daubed with honey—but their mouths were soon closed. Not until 27th January, 1944, five months after the arrival in the United States of Commander Melvyn McCoy, Major William E. Dyess and Lieut.-Colonel S. M. Mellnik, were these men permitted to tell what they suffered in a Japanese prison camp prior to their escape. Even then there was no disclosure of the names of the officers responsible for the brutalities that took the lives of six thousand Americans. This single official release would only disrupt the indictment of Hitler and his people, but for the purposes of record it is printed as an appendix.

GEORGE CREEL

Washington, D.C.
10th February, 1944

PUBLISHER'S NOTE TO THE ENGLISH EDITION

IN ALL THAT "register of the crimes, follies, and misfortunes of mankind" that Gibbon called History there are no chapters more dreadful, more filled with the records of Man's inhumanity to Man, than those that tell of the infamous deeds of the Nazis in our own day. Many books have been written on the subject, and for years to come more still will be published, since the tale of atrocity is, alas! endless. But this book strikes a decidedly individual note, since it is the work of a prominent United States publicist, and hence may be read as the reflection of European horror on an acute American intelligence. Mr. Creel was Chairman of the Office of Public Information in the U.S.A. in the first of the World Wars launched upon us by German aggression, and he is now Washington correspondent of *Collier's*, one of the most famous and influential of American journals.

Although the greater part of the book is devoted to the story of German crimes and criminals, the Japanese emulators of Nazi outrage also come under the lash of his condemnation. For in the East, as in the West, that combination of human depravity with mechanical contrivance that we know as Totalitarianism has given birth to a fearful crop of atrocious deeds; and in the East, as in the West, only the most rigorous and determined measures will suffice to root it from out a polluted soil.

It may be added that for the benefit of the readers on this side of the Atlantic the spelling has been made to conform with the accustomed English usage, and certain Americanisms have been translated into their nearest English equivalents. Here and there, too, a statement has been brought up to the most recent date, and an Appendix on Neutrals and War Criminals has been added. But for the rest, the book is as Mr. Creel wrote it—a white-hot indictment of the men who are directly or indirectly responsible for the crimes that have shocked the civilized world, and a plea, or rather a demand, that they shall receive the punishment they have so richly merited.

5th December, 1944

CHAPTER I

NOT GOD BUT MOLOCH

IN EVERY ENSLAVED country, German conquest follows a plain and unchanging pattern. Mass murder, and terrorization: the execution of hostages on the theory of collective responsibility, and the merciless destruction of entire communities; the deportation of peoples to drudge in factory and field for the *Herrenvolk*; starvation by the confiscation of crops, livestock, etc., and food rationing below subsistence levels; the herding of girls into brothels and the degradation of youth; profanation and pillage; the denial of education and religion, and the merciless extermination of intellectual and spiritual leaders as part of a systematized intent to demoralize and debase.

These bestialities are not subject to doubt. In every captive country, particularly Poland, Czechoslovakia and the Ukraine, records of crimes and criminals are being kept, and attested by the sworn statements of survivors. Vatican broadcasts, with Papal approval, declare flatly that "horrors and inexcusable excesses . . . have been established by the unimpeachable testimony of eyewitnesses". The United Nations Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes, already at work in London, is increasingly flooded with "instances of shameless brutalities", to quote Mr. Churchill's own words.

In the files of the State Department in Washington are hundreds of reports that prove a horror of desolation in occupied lands, a tragedy of rapine. With firing squads and bayonets too slow for Nazi hate, ingenious methods of wholesale slaughter have been devised. Men, women and children herded into pens and blown up by hand-grenades; goods vans, their floors inches deep in wet quicklime, packed to the suffocation point with barefooted wretches, and then locked and shunted off to some remote siding where none may hear their screams as flesh is eaten away; thousands driven like cattle into "gas chambers", and other thousands, stripped naked, scourged into heavily wired halls and electrocuted *en masse*.

Account after account of the "labour camps" in which the young and strong slave for German masters, with cracked eyeballs, battered kidneys and smashed genitals the punishment for "shirking". Under daily drudgery and torture, the unhappy wretches die like flies, and not even ditching-machines can dig graves fast enough to keep the air from being poisoned by the stench of rotting bodies.

Report after report of what goes on in concentration camps, set up to silence every voice of protest. All operated by brutes freed by order from restraint. As Hermann Rauschning admits in *The Voice of Destruction*, "the selection of asocial, abnormal types to guard the concentration camps was carried out with conscious purpose. I had occasion to see something of this myself. Notorious drunkards and criminals were selected from the military organizations of the Party, and placed in special sub-divisions. It was a typical example of specially selected sub-humans for definite political tasks."

In the embassies of the governments-in-exile, shelf after shelf is piled high with affidavits that tell of outrage and abomination. Scholars, scientists, teachers, either shot down or made to endure unspeakable degradation; venerable priests, rabbis and pastors clubbed and kicked and called upon to clean latrines with their hands; boys abused by perverts and girls thrown into barracks for the use of soldiers or sent to the brothels of the Reich; ghettos turned into slaughter pens, high altars fouled and religious rites mocked with

every circumstance of obscenity. Volumes would be needed to set down the whole record of atrocities. All that space permits is to take up Nazi methods one by one, along with a certain amount of illustrative incident.

In the matter of mass murder the Russians are the best witnesses, for they have been the most diligent and thorough in the collection of evidence. The agents of an Extraordinary State Committee follow hard on the heels of every Red army, and begin the procurement of depositions the moment a city or village is retaken. Massacres, tortures, pillage and wanton destruction, all are set down in precise detail, and the persons responsible, from high-ranking officers down to privates, are named with stern particularity. Here is a typical example of Nazi ferocity, declared to the world over Molotov's own signature:

In September, 1941, German officials broadcast the charge that citizens were plotting to burn Kiev, and issued orders that all must report for "evacuation", bringing with them clothes, valuables and provisions. When some sixty thousand had been herded together, they were driven out of the city to a great gully called Baby Yar, or the Women's Ravine. After being stripped bare, the men, women, and children were lined up on the edge and machine-gunned, the bodies toppling down into the *yar*. A clever device to save the labour of burial. In August, 1942, however, when the swift Russian advance made Kiev's recapture fairly certain, the Germans decided that it would be prudent to destroy all evidence of their crime, and despatched one hundred Russian prisoners to the ravine for the purpose of uncovering and incinerating the corpses. Yefim Vilkys, a former porter, was one of the squad, and by reason of a daring escape, this is the story he lived to tell to the Russian authorities when they re-entered Kiev:

"We were given spades and ordered to dig out the corpses, but there were too many and the Germans brought up excavators. I alone dug up about five thousand or six thousand bodies. They were only in the early stages of decomposition because the sand was dry. Many were headless and armless. Most of them were old people, children, and babies. We dragged the bodies with iron hooks 30 or 40 yards to incinerators. There were four incinerators. They were the height of a two-storey house. They were made of iron fences of the Jewish cemetery. The bodies were put on iron grates, one layer of bodies alternating with a layer of kerosene-soaked wood. Each contained almost four thousand bodies.

"Some prisoners were made to stoke the fires. During the operation S.S. officers arrived frequently in trucks with prisoners who had been asphyxiated. They also brought some prisoners who were unconscious but alive, and they, too, were thrown into the incinerators. Prisoners who weakened while working on the incinerators were shot on the spot, while the Germans kept cursing even the corpses, calling them swine and dogs."

Twenty Germans, officers and men, were duly listed as responsible for the massacre, and have been marked down for arrest and trial in the hour of victory. Here, too, is the affidavit of one Fenichel, a prisoner of the Germans until the recapture of Stavropol by the Russians, at which time he was released from prison and brought before a notary:

"Working as an auto-mechanic I had a chance to learn the construction of the vans for suffocating and exterminating people with exhaust gas. They were constructed as follows: The body was approximately five metres long, two and one half metres wide, and two and a half metres high. The body was shaped like a railway carriage without windows and lined inside with galvanized sheet-iron; on the floor, also covered with sheet-iron, lay a wooden grating. Under the grating were two metal pipes about one and a half inches in diameter and two and a half metres long. In these pipes were numerous holes one-half centimetre in width; from the transverse pipe down through a hole in the galvanized iron floor ran a rubber hose with a hexagonal nut at the end threaded to fit

the thread on the end of the engine exhaust pipe. When the engine is running, all exhaust gas goes into the body of this hermetically sealed van, killing very quickly. Seventy to eighty persons could be put into the body of the van. The van had a Sauer engine and the body was constructed in Berlin."

The destruction of Lidice, as much as any other one thing, is a perfect example of Nazi method. On the unsupported charge that the little community had "afforded support and help" to the Czechs who killed "Hangman" Heydrich, the village was razed to the ground, the whole of its male population shot, the women thrust into concentration camps, and the children driven out into the fields and forests to starve and die. The Czechs emphasize Lidice, not so much because of its horror as for the reason that it stands confessed by the Germans as a deliberate and considered expression of policy. Broadcast by Dr. Goebbels, and made known to the world by all means of modern publicity, Berlin gloried in it as an "example of Nazi justice".

Leaving mass murder, and passing on to torture, it is possible to put on the witness-stand one who was both an eyewitness and a sufferer. Not long since I had the honour and high privilege of interviewing "Mr. B", a young leader of the Polish underground who was in Washington on some secret errand. A university student at the outbreak of war in 1939, he fought the Germans until captured by the Russians when they poured into Poland from the east. Escaping only to fall into the hands of the Germans, he got free a second time, and reached France by way of Hungary and Italy. He fought with Polish brigades until the collapse of France in 1940, and his government then sent him back to Poland to aid in the creation of an efficient underground movement.

Daring, resourceful and a master linguist, "Mr. B" has since been used as a liaison, slipping from group to group at home, and from country to country abroad. Only twenty-nine, there was no youth left in him, for aside from the hard, dangerous life, his face and body have known the fists, whips, and truncheons of the Gestapo. It was a moving story that he told, an epic of unconquerable courage; but for the moment let me lift out only that part bearing on the fiendish ingenuities of Nazi torturers:

"There is nothing amateurish about the Gestapo," said "Mr. B". "Every man is a specialist in cruelty. When Heinrich Himmler came to Poland, one of his first acts was to set up a school in Poznan where men were trained in the art of torture just as you would train a mechanic. Distending the bowels with air and forcing lighted splinters under finger-nails were little more than kindergarten lessons, for they went far beyond your Indians in fiendish ingenuity. Let me tell you of a girl who was supposed to have some information about an underground newspaper, a girl still in her teens. They stripped her naked, spread her out on to the floor with hands and feet fastened to hooks, and then flicked her abdomen into shreds with whiplashes. And they kept her alive for weeks, putting her to the question, as they call it, time and again.

"To be able to commit suicide is a blessing, but the Gestapo is on the watch for that, and you must be very careful and very clever. Two years ago, in Cracow, a woman of forty-five underwent torture after having watched the Gestapo turn her husband into a sightless, broken piece of human wreckage. What was their crime? Oh, a very serious one. They were caught giving secret lessons to Polish children. The woman, when her turn came, was beaten with steel rods, a wardress bringing her round whenever she lost consciousness.

"The Gestapo torturers, you see, want no victim to die until information has been secured. Doctors have given them lessons in anatomy, teaching just how much the human body can stand, and a skilled operator can tell to a split second when to put down his steel rod or rubber truncheon. They know just what bones to wrench, what nerves to press. Men and women are often nursed back from the grave's edge for further questioning. I know that of my own knowledge, for in the early days of the underground, when we were still inex-

perienced, the Gestapo caught me on my way home from a trip abroad. Men with whips, brass knuckles, and truncheons stood beside and behind me, and used me most violently when I refused to answer. They broke my nose, fractured my jaw and knocked out a lot of teeth, and after an hour threw me on the floor and kicked in my ribs. I can assure you, sir, that it was not easy to remain resolute under such treatment.

"Out of the fear that I might break down under a second questioning, I tried to kill myself. Unfortunately, I must have moaned or drummed against the wall with my feet, for the guard rushed in. They took me to hospital, gave me blood transfusions and the very best medical attention; but, praise God, it proved a waste of Gestapo time. Word of my capture got out to the underground, and they delivered me by a daring trick before I had recovered sufficiently for further interrogation.

"We do things better to-day. Now each member of the underground is provided with a capsule that guarantees instant and painless death. Even the armed forces have them. True, our soldiers carry weapons with which to kill themselves rather than suffer capture. But what if the knife or bullet misses a vital spot, leaving them wounded and helpless? Believe me, the little capsule is a great comfort. I touch mine ever so often to make sure it's there."

These Gestapo methods are not peculiar to Poland, but obtain in every occupied country. One Himmler invention, widely used, is the injection of drugs that rot away the vital organs. Betting on how long the victim will last is a recognized diversion among German soldiers, substituting for horse racing as a sport. Another Gestapo favourite is to tie parents up, and make them watch while a daughter is being violated.

Konrad Heiden, in his *Der Fuehrer*, gives this first-hand report on the treatment of captives in the "artificial hells" of Dachau and Oranienburg: "It happened that prisoners employed in road-building were 'for fun' thrown into the rotating barrel of a concrete-mixing machine and kept there until their bones were crushed. It happened that one torturer with a sense of humour burned, with a cigarette, holes in the bare chest of his victim to make them look like uniform buttons. To throw prisoners into sewers or drains 'by oversight' was also considered a permissible pastime. The most gruesome tortures were often those in which outwardly nothing seemed to happen. Prisoners were compelled to stand erect for many hours under a torrid sun; they were forbidden to make the slightest motion, not even a quiver of a limb. Cases were reported of this torture being inflicted on hundreds of people for as long as eighteen hours. It happened that people were locked up in box-like wooden closets, fed with salted herrings, and left without water or any other drink; of course, death was the result."

Poles, Czechs, Russians, Belgians, Norwegians, Greeks, Yugoslavs, French, and Danes, all have their stories of horror to tell, but it is the Jews of Europe who will stand as chief accusers in the day when Germans are called on to answer for their crimes. No defence is possible in the cases of "non-Aryans", for out of their own mouths the Germans are condemned. From the day that he first climbed on a public platform, Adolf Hitler has made no secret of his purpose to exterminate Jews, "the authors of our misfortunes". Every page of *Mein Kampf* shouted this intent, and it has been carried out with inhuman cruelty. All occupied countries have witnessed the tortures and mass butcheries of Jews, but the story of Poland best tells the monstrous, methodical design for the annihilation of a race.

Since September, 1939, the date of the German invasion, it is conservatively estimated that more than two million Jews have been killed. For some months after the occupation, the slaughter was left to the ferocity of the invaders rather than determined by any plan. Men and women were shot down or beaten to death in the open streets, and hundreds of others were hung in the public squares,

done to death in gas chambers and tortured in concentration camps. Eventually, however, "German thoroughness" saw that these haphazard methods would not accomplish the purpose, and Warsaw was decided upon as the laboratory for experimentation with a more orderly method. A great ghetto was created by the simple expedient of building an 8-foot concrete wall around a determined district, and into this enclosure some two hundred and fifty thousand Jews were herded, death the penalty for exit without permission. This done, the Germans cut off all food supplies, and waited expectantly for the wretched inmates to die of hunger.

It proved a slower process than had been counted on, and Heinrich Himmler, hurrying to Warsaw from Berlin, ordered more effective measures. As a consequence, announcement was made that all Jews were to be sent to camps in Germany and the Ukraine, and at the rate of six thousand a day. Lacking arms, the wretched inmates obeyed the order, but when word came back that deportees were being dumped out of the trains into the winter wilderness, and left to perish of cold and hunger, leaders resolved on resistance. Hand-grenades, guns, and ammunition were smuggled in from the outside, and the war that began lasted from January, 1943, well on into May.

At first the Germans delivered a direct assault with machine-guns, flame-throwers, and tanks, but the desperate hand-to-hand fighting in the streets of the ghetto proved a costly business, and Governor Ludwig Fischer, stunned by his losses, ordered a change to bombardment, both land and aerial. Day after day, night after night, shells and bombs rained down on the doomed ghetto, but the Jews refused to fly the white flag, fighting back desperately from the ruins that served as barriers. When an army of Storm Troopers finally drove in for the kill, only twenty thousand half-starved, collapsed human beings were left of the two hundred and fifty thousand that had been the ghetto's population. These were quickly herded to the slaughter pens, and Dr. Fischer was at last able to report to Berlin that the "ulcer of Judaism" had been cut out of Warsaw's body politic.

Czechoslovakia, while it has no such bloody tale to tell, offers an even more detailed picture of Nazi policy with respect to the Jews. At the time of the invasion, according to a German census, ninety thousand and two hundred and forty-seven Jews lived in the so-called "Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia", of whom more than half were residents of Prague. Baron Constantin von Neurath, the first Protector, began his régime by ordering the "Aryanization" of all Jewish property. Bank accounts and saving deposits were frozen; the registration of Jewish holdings was ordered and their transfer prohibited. The more important business enterprises, even those with only one Jewish member on an otherwise non-Jewish board of directors, were taken over by German commissioners and "trustees".

During 1940, a series of additional decrees was published, eliminating Jews from economic life so that by the end of that year all individually owned Jewish land, house and industrial property had also been confiscated without even the pretence of compensation. All Jewish clerical staffs in Jewish and non-Jewish industrial, commercial, and retail firms were dismissed, and all Jewish business men were forced to give up their premises and business at an hour's notice. Jews were forbidden to dispose of, or to reduce the value of, any of their belongings, furniture, household goods, rights, and claims.

A decree, published on 24th April, 1940, excluded Jews from practising in the liberal professions. Actually this affected only a few lawyers and doctors; all other Jewish members of the liberal professions had either been arrested or, without any legal formalities, driven out of editorial offices, theatres, schools, and universities in the first hours after the invasion. Out of some four hundred Jewish doctors in Prague, ten were allowed to continue in practice to look after the needs of the Jewish population. All Czech civil servants and employees

of public institutions unable to prove pure Aryan descent, or married to a Jew or Jewess, were dismissed by decree No. 137 of 4th April, 1942. Any Czech official who married a Jewess or a half-Jewess was liable to be discharged and punished.

For Jews, the arrival of Reinhard Heydrich, as successor to "Protector" Neurath, brought intensified persecution. On 7th March, 1942, Heydrich propounded a strictly racial definition of "Jewishness" and spread the net wider. Under his new regulations mixed marriages were not only declared punishable with a maximum penal sentence of fifteen years, but also made invalid. Marriages between Jews and half-Jews were similarly prohibited, and those between half-Jews and non-Jews were made to require special permission. Based on that decree, an avalanche of orders and regulations prevented Jews from maintaining any contact with Czechs.

A yellow Star-of-David badge was introduced to be worn by all those classified as Jews. The Jews wore it with pride and the vast majority of the Czech people treated it as though it were an honour. The Gestapo answered this manifestation of Czech chivalry with the announcement: "The State Police have received instructions to arrest anyone seen in public engaged in a defiantly friendly conversation with a Jew." To make separation more effective, Jews were forbidden to buy or to borrow any Czech or German newspaper or magazine.

During 1942, under heavy penalties, it was forbidden for Jews to move from one house to another or to leave Greater Prague; to enter or even pass certain streets and squares in Prague and other towns; to enter or to pass certain other streets (the main lines of communication between the different districts of Prague) from 3 p.m. on Saturdays to 8 a.m. on Mondays; to enter parks, river banks, woods, bathing-pools, public baths, barbers' shops, and fairs; to visit museums, libraries, theatres, cinemas; to use railways, trolleys, buses, taxis, public telephone booths; to buy fruit, vegetables, mushrooms, wines and liquors, tobacco and cigarettes, sweets, jams, fish, poultry, game, and all unrationed foodstuffs; to have washing done by laundries and clothing cleaned or dyed.

On 2nd December, 1942, a special order excluded the Jews not only from buying unrationed foods, but even from receiving them as a gift from any private citizen. The same order left it to the discretion of the Ministry of Agriculture to exclude Jews entirely or partially from obtaining rationed food, thus exposing the remnants of the Jewish community to death by starvation. With all parks closed to Jews, they began to meet, walk, or let their children breathe some fresh air at Jewish cemeteries, but the Germans soon ordered the cemeteries to be closed except for burials.

After the assassination of Heydrich in May, 1942, "temporary measures" were put aside in favour of a "permanent solution", and Kurt Daluege, the new Protector, decreed wholesale deportation. All men between the ages of fifteen and fifty were sent to labour camps in Upper Silesia or to the salt mines near Cracow, and the women and children driven in herds to special settlements in East Poland. Batches of one thousand were shipped all at a time, only one day's notice being given. The Nazi records of the Jewish registration were out of date, and it often happened that the call-up cards were addressed to persons who had died years ago, had left the country, or had already been deported. In such cases the daily quota of a thousand was made up by people simply picked up from the streets or dragged from their beds at night time. The Gestapo took a delight in so selecting the deportees that families were split, wives separated from their husbands, and even small children from their mothers. At the end of it all, no Jewish life remained in Bohemia or Moravia.

So it has been in every occupied land. The ghettos of Austria, Belgium, and Holland stand empty to-day, the inmates butchered or in concentration

camps; and in France the infamous Laval and brutal Stuepnagel were equally ferocious in their treatment of Jews. Then some six thousand Jews, fleeing from the "Aryanization" of Denmark, set out in boats for Sweden. Nazi planes strafed the craft, and how many came through alive is not known.

CHAPTER II

THE DOOM OF ANIMALISM

DEATH IN THE Slavic countries, even under torture, is a merciful release from the horror of living. Scandinavians, Belgians, and the Dutch, regarded as "susceptible to Aryanization", were exempted from the extreme rigours of the Nazi programme; but in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia it has been the declared intent of the conquerors to beat the remnants of population down to the beast level. With spirit crushed, pride shamed, and minds dulled by hunger, drudgery, and the lack of education and religion, the necessary number of slave peoples will be provided for the Master Race.

Sex is a favoured instrument in this process of animalization, and in using it the Germans have turned away from every known decency and plumbed the depths of jungle bestialities and obscenities. Their own obsession with promiscuity and abnormality, it may be stressed, has given them thorough training for the work. Alfred Rosenberg's propagandization of "pagan freedom from Christian inhibitions" is supported by nudist revels and a flood of pornographic films and magazines. Dr. Hans Endres, the Nazi race authority, is on record with the commandment that "our younger generation must learn again to follow spontaneously the laws of mutual attraction without waiting for sanction by the Church or the State."

Rape is the order of the day in the first stages of every occupation, even the aged suffering violation. *The Black Book of Poland*, quite incidentally, records that "some German soldiers, searching a house in the village of Szymanow, one after another raped a woman of eighty. When she called for help she was beaten into insensibility". Hitler himself approves, for Dr. Hermann Rauschning quotes him as saying: "I shall not spoil the fun for any of my lads. If I demand the supreme effort from them, I must also give them the right to carouse as they please, not as it suits a lot of church-going old women."

After a time, however, rape is frowned upon, and strict rules issued for guidance of the sex impulse. Young girls are rounded up by the Gestapo and herded into brothels, where rigid supervision guards against pollution of the "noble German blood stream". The inmates are carefully examined to make sure that none has Jewish blood, and pregnancy is terminated by abortions. Cardinal Hlond, the venerable primate of Poland, in a report to the Pope, cited innumerable instances of seizure, this being an example: "On 10th March the Germans organized in Warsaw a wholesale and official abduction of young girls from the Solec district and the streets of the suburb of Czerniakow. Eighty of them were arrested in and outside their houses, and sent to the hospital of Saint Lazare, where they were examined by military doctors."

Inmates for the brothels of the Reich are also recruited from the captured countries. To choose one out of many, here is a sworn statement contained

in the report of Cardinal Hlond: "The recruiting of girls and young women for brothels went on under pretext of sending them to Germany for forced labour. On arrival at the points of assembly, the young women of pleasing physique were segregated from the others, examined by medical specialists, and sent to Germany under separate escort. According to the depositions of two Cracow doctors, there are now eight young girls under treatment in the dermatological department of the Municipal Hospital there. After passing a month in one of the houses mentioned—established in Germany for the troops—these poor creatures were returned to Poland to be cared for."

A different course is followed in other than Slavic countries, where principal reliance is placed on the irresistible sex appeal of Nazi youth. "There will come a time," chants Dr. Endres, "when the young German will be the most desired male all over Europe. He will make the women shiveringly submissive wherever he appears. Radiant, tall, and vigorous, he will conquer and embrace them. There will be no sin in it when the foreign women yield to him. They will merely help to procreate men of his kind, of the strong Nordic race which nations need for their life even as people need air to breathe."

Even these "spontaneous matings", however, are controlled and guided, for in a "supplementary decree" issued to the Army of Occupation in Holland, this order was laid down by Dr. Walther Gross, head of the Office of Racial Policy: "Intercourse with Dutch girls should not be considered by the soldier as a merely physical function. Every soldier should be conscious at every moment that he is a representative of the Fuehrer, and should try to awaken an understanding of our aims in his companion. . . . Girls who become pregnant in consequence of their sexual relationship with a soldier shall be granted full moral and material assistance by the occupying authorities within the limitations of the means at their disposal."

With rare condescension, a certain type of French girl is also permitted the privilege of intercourse with German soldiers. Carefully selected, to guard against the taint of Jewish blood, they are mated and then kept under strict supervision until the child is born. Dr. Gross, in reporting results to the Fuehrer, declared that the French women could have "no possible cause of complaint, as they will derive much joy one day from the many blue-eyed sons of German fathers, whose genius, it may be hoped, will lead our neighbours to new greatness".

"Breeding camps" also figure largely in Dr. Gross's scheme of things, for while confident that the proper type of woman will be "shiveringly submissive" he means to take no chances. In all non-Slavic countries selected women are herded into "homes", and after thorough examination are mated with selected Germans. When pregnancy develops, they are sent back to their families, although still watched over by Nazi doctors until the child is born. No such "servicing", however, is permitted in Slavic lands, for as Dr. Gross points out, "these stupid racial streams have always been a plague of Europe. . . . Every increase through births among these parasite peoples would therefore be contrary to the general interest. We have therefore adopted radical measures to limit their births to a minimum."

In no Slavic country may a child be brought into the world without a permit from the German Governor-General, and prison or death is the penalty for failure to practise abortion. In France the doom of a population is brought about more adroitly, for more than a million Frenchmen are still being kept in German prison camps, away from their homes and their wives.

The debauching of boys is a Nazi objective no less than the degradation of women, and here again "Mr. B" is an authoritative witness. "A large percentage of the Germans in Poland," he said in the course of our talk, "are homosexuals. As you may remember, Captain Ernst Roehm, Hitler's intimate, advocated this degeneracy in a book that was compulsory reading for all Storm

Troopers. In the cities the German soldiers are under orders to abuse our boys; and the guards in concentration camps and labour camps, recruited from the slums of the Reich, practise perversions in every form on their young prisoners. Hoffman, the loathsome creature our Punitive Squad stabbed to death, was a leader in this campaign.

"In every possible way the Nazis try to deprave our youth. Goebbels, that foul cripple, floods the land with pornographic magazines filled with lust and obscenity, and the only motion pictures shown in Poland are vile beyond description. Free brothels for the use of Polish boys are maintained in many places, and there is an increasing use of candies containing drugs. Another Hun activity is the operation of casinos in towns and villages where youngsters are taught to gamble and drink.

"We fight back as best we can, but it is very difficult. Our underground papers print the name of everyone seen entering a cinema or reading a German magazine, and sentence of ostracism is passed. In extreme cases, where we are convinced that a boy has been debauched beyond cure and is a danger to his fellows, the court orders his elimination. Considering everything, the number of such cases has been comparatively small. Not long ago the Germans made a vigorous drive to organize a *Hitlerjugend*, and only eight Polish boys came forward to accept leadership posts. Our court, after full study of the cases, ordered the death of five, and while there is still a *Jugend* movement, no Pole belongs."

A merciless, brutal drive against religion is also a vital part of the Nazi effort to visit the doom of animalism on enslaved peoples. In Czechoslovakia, where Karl Hermann Frank, that infamous quisling, has openly dedicated himself to "cutting out the rot of Christianity", churches and synagogues have been closed, and priests, pastors, and rabbis imprisoned, tortured, and killed. On the false charge that they had knowledge of the assassination of "Hangman" Heydrich, venerable prelates were hung as common criminals. When Czech exiles in London mourned the martyrs, Frank sneered angrily that "the requiem masses for Bishop Gorazd and Chaplain Petrek cannot prevent us for a single second from proceeding against the enemies of the Reich with even harder measures if necessary."

In Austria the unspeakable Baldur von Schirach closed the College of the Holy Virgin, and after whipping the nuns into the street, sent thirty girl students to Gestapo headquarters. Four have never been heard of from that day to this, and the twenty-six finally released—sobbing, hysterical, and ravished—had no dearer hope than death.

Of all the stately synagogues in Europe, none remains for Jewish worship. In Czechoslovakia many have been demolished, and those still standing are used for the auction of Jewish household goods. In Austria, Germany, and Belgium they have either been destroyed or turned into stables or beer halls. A favourite practice of the Germans is to set fire to a synagogue, and then make the Jews pay a fine as "a penalty for damage done to a public building", the Council of the Jewish Community being forced to sign a declaration admitting guilt.

The most detailed and well-authenticated record of religious persecution, however, comes from Poland, being contained in two reports to His Holiness Pius XII by Cardinal Hlond, both based on his own observation and closely investigated testimonies. The Holy Father, in turn, subjected the reports to thorough examination and, completely satisfied as to their truth, made them the subject of Vatican broadcasts in various languages. No more terrible indictment was ever levelled against a race.

"Cathedrals have been closed," reported Cardinal Hlond, "and their keys are kept by the invaders; one has been made into a garage. Five bishops' palaces have been invaded, and one of them has been turned into an inn, the

bishop's chapel serving as a ballroom. In the Chapel of the Primate's palace at Poznan the police have put a dog kennel. All the seminary students have been dispersed and the seminaries occupied by the Nazi authorities. . . . After so many centuries passed in the service of the Church, Poland witnesses the establishment in its midst of a paganism so godless, so immoral, atrocious, and inhuman, that it could only be accepted by morbid-minded individuals who have lost all human dignity and are blinded by hatred of the cross of Christ. It is like an apocalyptic vision of the *Fides depopulata*."

In Plock, the German authorities drove a group of Jews into the Catholic Religious Seminary, ostensibly to dust and clean. Once inside, they made them put on the sacerdotal vestments, and dance before the stations of the Cross. One Jew, given a hammer, was ordered to smash a statue of Christ, and when he hit weakly, inflicting only minor damage, a Storm Trooper snatched the hammer and brained him with it. "There," he bawled, turning to the others, "that will show you how to break a head." In Wilno, Cardinal Hlond recorded, the venerable Archbishop Jalbrzykowski was arrested, and with him the canons of the cathedral and the professors and students of the local seminary. In the Archdioceses of Poznan and Gniezno, there were eight hundred and twenty-eight priests in 1939, ministering to the religious needs of two million people. To-day there are thirty-four. The rest have been murdered and imprisoned, and at Oswiecim, grey-haired prelates are cleaning latrines with their hands. The revered head of the Polish Protestant Church, eighty-year-old Doctor Julius Bursch, was sent to the hell-hole of Dachau, where the Gestapo beat life out of his frail body.

At Wisnicz, according to Cardinal Hlond, "the Germans organized anti-religious orgies: they dressed in sacerdotal vestments and danced wild dances, firing at the sacred images. A figure of Christ, which had been thrown down, was tied to a horse, on which a villager stripped naked was set. . . . The Mother House of the Sisters of St. Charles Borromeo at Rybnik was confiscated. In their place were installed the Sisters of Hitler (*Hitlerschwestern*), who are evidently not respected by the population because of their immoral conduct and their unconcealed hatred of Christianity".

The drive against education has been no less savage than against religion, for it is Hitler's announced resolve to make captive peoples hewers of wood and drawers of water for the Master Race. One of the first acts of every Nazi conqueror has been to close universities, high schools, and even secondary schools in many instances, either shooting the students for "rebellious activities" or herding them into labour camps. "Schooling," thundered one gauleiter, "is for *Herrenvolk*, not *Knechte*"—for the Master Race, not serfs. At the age of ten, no child has any legal claim to further education, and may be conscripted for labour in factories, fields, and even mines.

The ancient University of Cracow, founded by Casimir the Great in 1364, and where Copernicus both studied and taught, was gutted, and the entire faculty of one hundred and sixty-seven, many of them aged, were carted off to suffer and die in concentration camps. So was it with the universities of Warsaw and Wilno. The famous University of Louvain in Belgium, once "destroyed by German fury and rebuilt by American generosity", had its doors locked and barred, and its contents looted. The great university at Leyden, Holland's pride, and linked so inseparably with the name of Grotius, was first stripped bare of its treasures, and then closed. The University of Prague, a shrine of learning for six centuries, no longer offers learning to the youth of Europe, shuttered along with other Czech universities, colleges, and high schools.

Nothing is more typical than the Nazi explanation of this action. The funeral procession of a Czech student, brutally murdered, was broken up by Storm Troopers, and the marchers retaliated by overturning several cars. Not

content with shooting into the crowds, Karl Hermann Frank, the quisling, charged all students with rebellious activities, and ordered the closing of every institution of learning.

Young girls, taken from the women's colleges, were violated before being rushed off to concentration camps. Two hundred and forty students were shot in Prague and Brno. Two thousand, after torture in Gestapo headquarters, were packed in buses without food or drink, and sent to prison camps in Buchenwald, Oranienburg, and Dachau. According to the Czechs, at the last report only five hundred were still alive.

These are only selected incidents, taken at random from high-piled reports. Even so, the Nazi purpose has not been successful, for in the darkness of cellars and burrows, in caves and thickets, priests, pastors, rabbis, professors, and scientists still teach, risking death that the soul of their people may be saved. In Warsaw to-day, for example, there are *two* underground universities, and this last year some one thousand seven hundred high school diplomas were given out, almost 50 per cent of the pre-war number.

Along with the drives against religion and education, the Germans are devoting desperate effort to the destruction of the cultural heritage of conquered peoples. Libraries, museums, art collections, public and private archives, all are plundered systematically. The pick of the loot is carted off to the Reich, and the gauleiters, generals, and Storm Troopers have second choice. The rest, particularly the books, is burned as rubbish. Priceless volumes, ancient manuscripts, paintings, sculptures, engravings, all are stolen or destroyed. Historic buildings are razed, national shrines violated, and monuments to heroic figures of the past torn down and ground into rubble. Not even traditions are to be left for the nourishment of pride and patriotism.

Belgians, Dutch, French, Czechoslovaks, Russians, and even Austrians have their tragic stories of loot and ravage, but again it is the Poles who come forward with the most detailed reports, setting down every robbery and act of vandalism with anguished particularity. In *The Black Book of Poland*, almost as much space is devoted to the destruction of cultural possessions as to massacre and rapine. One can fairly see tears on the pages that tell of the manner in which the Germans laid waste the Royal Castle of Warsaw—symbol of the existence of the Polish State—and looted it of treasures that were as dear to the people as their life blood. Dating back to the thirteenth century, all the great artists, architects, sculptors, wood-workers, metal-workers, and decorators had made contribution to its beauty and grandeur. And Poles venerated it as a symbol of their national existence. The Germans, like a locust swarm, left nothing but the bare walls, and then battered them down.

Public buildings and private homes were pillaged of Rembrandts, Raphaels, and da Vincis; the Renaissance jewels of the Polish kings were searched out and stolen; altar-pieces and paintings were torn out of cathedrals, along with tapestries, goblets, monstrances, reliquaries, illuminated manuscripts, and historic vestments. None of the looting was haphazard, but from first to last a typical example of German thoroughness. To quote from the *Black Book*:

"Governor-General Frank instituted a special staff or commission composed of German scholars who knew Polish conditions and drew up the whole plan of pillage. They were helped by German specialists in various fields who came for a short time. It is characteristic that in the majority of cases these were scholars who of recent years—contrary to their usual practice—had entered into friendly relations with Polish scholars and scientists, and who, on the occasion of their mutual visit, had had opportunities of getting to know the Polish collections. Thanks to these methods the German authorities were able at once to lay their hands on the most important objects, books, or works of art, contained in the public collections."

It was in the destruction of monuments, however, that German fury found

its greatest expression. In virtually every Polish city, statues by famous sculptors honoured the memory of King Boleslav, Kosciuszko, Chopin, King Ladislas Jagiello, Copernicus, and scores of others. All were either dragged down by ropes or else blown up with high explosives. It is the desperate determination to keep their traditions alive that has cost many Polish lives, for in defiance of the death penalty, men, women, and even children continue to place wreaths where the statues once stood.

Starvation, like murder, torture, sex, and the denial of religion and education, is also employed by the Nazis, deliberately and scientifically. Every occupied country has had its food supplies requisitioned or confiscated, with death the penalty for withholding supplies or failure to meet crop quotas. This done, rigid rationing systems turn the populations over to the ravages of malnutrition and the diseases that follow in its wake. Greece is a perfect example. Prior to August, 1942, when the Germans opened Piræus to the entry of eight relief ships a month, one million out of a population of seven million had perished of starvation. In the U.S. State Department files are eyewitness reports of famished creatures hunting the fields for roots and grasses and fighting in the gutters for refuse; of walking corpses bloated out of all resemblance to human shape; of little ones weakly gumming crusts, too rickety to grow teeth. Horrors that make the reader rush to the nearest window, suddenly sick for the reassuring sight of familiar, decent things. Terse, official accounts of the hunger madness that did not stop at cannibalism; of a mother called on to decide which of her children has the best chance to live; of a nation's birth rate brought to a tragic stop by the leaping increase of sterility due to lack of food.

According to information available, Poles in towns receive a weekly ration of 2 lb. 5 oz. of bread of a very inferior quality and with a considerable admixture of barley and chestnuts, and 11 lb. of potatoes. Flour rations are very small, and the weekly ration of meat is a quarter of a pound per person. Sugar, in negligible quantities, is only obtainable at irregular intervals. In every occupied country, livestock has been requisitioned and crops commandeered, with death the penalty for attempts to hide or withhold. Everything is taken from farmers except the barest subsistence ration. Old people, unfit for work, are held as hostages, and shot if a village falls below its quota of grain or garden truck.

As for Belgium, the conservative Brookings Institute issued a report prepared by an eminent Belgian scholar, that contained these verified statements: "The average daily consumption of bread before the war was 15·8 ounces as against the 7·9 ounce ration now. . . . At present bread must contain at least 30 per cent rye and some proportion of potato flour or other substitutes . . . the average daily consumption of meat before the war was 3·8 ounces as against the present theoretical ration of 1·3 ounces. The pre-war average daily consumption of fats was 1·5 ounces as against the present highly theoretical ration of 0·5 ounce.

"The gravity of the food situation can best be judged by general figures. Biologists and physicians ordinarily consider a daily food ration of 2,300 calories as the minimum necessary for the average consumer. Before 1940 the average consumption in Belgium amounted to 2,725 calories. . . . But the legal ration in 1941 fluctuated generally around 1,350 calories, and the ration actually obtained by the inhabitants of the cities and towns amounted last summer to only about 1,000 calories, or about 40 per cent of the pre-war figures.

"Clinics have reported numerous cases of adolescents losing from 11 to 13 pounds in weight in the last months of 1941, whereas in normal times the average annual increase in weight of Belgian children between twelve and eighteen years of age varies from 9 to 12 pounds. . . . Anæmia, scurvy, dermatitis, eye infections, are becoming prevalent. The scourge of tuberculosis is spreading.

A reduction in the rate of births and an increase in the rate of deaths are manifest. In 1939 the rate of births was 1·6 and the rate of deaths 1·4 per hundred. In the middle of 1941 the relation between rates was inverted, the birth rate being 0·9 per hundred and the death rate 1·7."

So much for the crimes. Now for the criminals.

CHAPTER III

THE MASTER CRIMINALS

AN ANGUISHED WORLD has, at least, this one sustaining thought: Responsibility for the slaughter of millions, the enslavement of whole populations, is not a matter of doubt. Justice, when the day of judgment dawns, will not have to hang about in lobbies while judges ponder and debate. Before the tide of battle turned, gang leaders, gauleiters, quislings and stooges not only admitted guilt but gloried in it. Particularly Adolf Hitler, Master Criminal Number One, and the head and front of all offending against the laws of God and man. If he escapes assassination at the hands of his killers, hopeful to save their skins, he stands convicted by his own schizophrenic boasts and the evil deeds that put them into effect.

Every page of *Mein Kampf* is a frank confession of blood lust and infatuation with treachery. Time after time, with slobbering approval, he quotes the "incomparable Clausewitz," who counselled the wisdom of "promising peace that thou mayst begin war with advantage." Over and over he parrots Johann Gottlieb Fichte, who preached regimentation, the Fuehrer principle, and the doctrine that "between States there is no right except that of the stronger." Nietzsche, the madman, who lauded massacre and rapine as the only virtues, is his god. But what point in setting down his obediences to these shameful commands? The lies and duplicities that began with his drive against the Weimar Republic are all on record. The shroudless dead of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Russia, victims of invasion before the ink was dry on treaties of friendship, bear witness to his savagery and ill faith.

Nor is it the case that these crimes against civilization need figure in the indictment. Why charge treaty-breaking, with its opportunity for technical pleadings, against a mass murderer whose hands drip blood? In the purge of 1934 it was Hitler who led the midnight hunt, clubbing helpless men with his own hands, and gloating while his assassins shot and stabbed. Granted that Ernst Roehm was a pervert and butcher, richly deserving of death, they filled him with bullets as he begged for mercy. Let it be conceded that General von Schleicher planned betrayal, why could he not have been brought into court? And where was their justification for the killing of his wife as she tried to save her husband? Or for the wanton murder of Gregor Strasser, once the Fuehrer's most valued adviser and closest friend?

And what of the high commanders who have been done to death by Himmler under Hitler's orders? General Werner von Fritsch, shot in the back as he led an advance in Poland; General von Reichenau who "suffered a fatal apoplectic stroke" after an interview with the Gestapo; General Udet, who lost his life while "experimenting with a new weapon"; General Todt, victim of a mysterious "plane accident"; and so on and on in bloody sequence. Not even American gangsters have any such record of treachery and

With rare shamelessness, even the most brutal crimes received Hitler's public approval. Five of his men, for example, broke into the home of one Pietrzuch, a coal miner in Upper Silesia, and trampled him into a pulp. When a court found them guilty, Hitler denounced the judges as traitors to the Fatherland, and sent the murderers this telegram: "My comrades! In the face of this most hideous blood sentence, I feel myself bound to you in unlimited loyalty. In our movement, comradeship does not cease when someone makes a mistake." On coming into power, a first act was to order the pardon of the "patriots".

These crimes against individuals, however, pale into insignificance when compared to the doom of entire populations. The shooting of hostages, mass executions, torture and starvation in concentration camps—not one of these horrors but traces back to Adolf Hitler. By his orders, signed and published, the inmates of asylums and hospitals were "liquidated" as unfits, although Hitler himself comes from a rotten, tainted stock. Other commands, equally explicit, filled brothels with the youth of the captured countries—white slavery on a gigantic scale. Here again he stands convicted out of his own mouth, for Dr. Hermann Rauschning reports him as follows: "Providing sexual gratification must be one of the main devices of our propaganda. . . . I shall not spoil the fun for any of my lads." *Fun!* For that one word he merits the death sentence.

Guilt piled heaven high, yet all can be put aside, and the Fuehrer's summary conviction made to rest on his treatment of the Jews. How may he plead innocence in the face of proclamations and screamed speeches that declared his fixed and unchangeable purpose to destroy "the authors of our misfortunes"? Not arrest or imprisonment, but *extermination*.

The vast contempt that Benito Mussolini excites to-day may well erase memories of his deeds when he strutted the world stage as a Caesar, but the record proves him a Master Criminal no less than the Fuehrer. A bombastic, posturing clown, to be sure, but so were Nero and Caligula. Let it be remembered that Il Duce used mustard gas on naked Ethiopians, and pranced like a turkey-cock on his balcony as he announced the slaughter of half-armed natives. That he sent one hundred thousand Italian peasants to Spain, deceiving the poor wretches into believing that they were going to build roads in Ethiopia. That he broke his solemn pledge to defend the sovereignty and independence of Austria. That he stabbed France in the back, a jackal eager to share in the lion's kill.

Above all, remember Greece, invaded without warning and for no other reason than to fatten Il Duce's monstrous ego. The bombing of towns containing no military objectives, the slaughter of civilians as Bruno Mussolini and Galeazzo Ciano strafed from their low-flying planes, and again the betrayal of Italian peasants as in Spain. Lieut.-Colonel Stanley Casson, in his *Greece Against the Axis*, reports that "not one of the wretched creatures had the slightest idea of why they had come to Greece or what they were supposed to be doing there." Many thought they had been sent to "carry out manoeuvres in Albania."

An even more terrible indictment of Il Duce is Colonel Casson's description of prisoners taken by the Greeks. "The first batch I saw were mostly Alpini, but with them were men of ordinary infantry divisions as well . . . it was their abjectness that struck me most. They sat or lay in groups or clumps like the accumulations of grey lice in a shirt seam. . . . A high proportion was illiterate and all were filthy beyond belief. Their willingness to talk was universal, officer or man, but they gave the impression in many cases of being sub-human. There was an abject underdog quality about the whole lot—indeed, about almost all the Italian prisoners I ever saw, that seems to be the direct consequence of twenty years of Fascist education. For these

young soldiers were all the Mussolini *Jugend*, the direct product of his own handiwork."

As in the case of Hitler, these crimes need not enter into Mussolini's arraignment, for his hands, like those of the Fuehrer, are red with the blood of political enemies, assassinated by his personal order. In 1924, when his dictatorship still hung in the balance, his gangsters murdered Giacomo Matteotti, leader of an honest and vigorous opposition, flinging the headless body into a ditch. In 1926, another great liberal, Giovanni Amendola, was beaten to death by Mussolini's gunmen.

These and other cold-blooded killings can, and will, be supported by affidavit amply sufficient for the death penalty, and it may be that proof will be produced in thousands of other cases. In 1932, tenth anniversary of the famous March on Rome, Mussolini freed nineteen thousand five hundred and seventy-two prisoners, but Italian exiles insisted at the time that almost an equal number had either perished or been killed in Fascist dungeons. Broken treaties may be defended as a familiar practice in Europe, but the criminal law, although tortured into technicalities by pettifoggers, still holds that the man who orders assassination is as guilty as he who pulled the trigger or drove home the knife.

Hideki Tojo, of course, demands inclusion in the list of Master Criminals, ranking with Hitler himself. Although the atrocities of the Japanese, as explained in the foreword, have not been matters of exact record, Nanking, Hong Kong, Shanghai and the Philippines have shocked the world by their revelation of ordered inhumanity. The names of the officers directly responsible for these horrors are not yet known, as neither the Chinese nor the Americans have taken steps to establish identity, but there is no doubt as to the full responsibility of Tojo, for he was the real ruler of Japan. As Premier, War Minister and Home Secretary, all power was in his hands, for he controlled the courts and the police, as well as policies and military operations. The members of the Japanese Diet were his rubber stamps, for his assassins were quick to liquidate dissenters. More than any other, this walking venom sac embodies the fanaticisms and ferocities of his race, for even as he forced war with China and the United States, so did he wage both wars with a barbarity unknown since man quit running about on all fours.

Like Hitler, the whole life of the man is red with blood and black with treachery. He first rose to fame in 1932 when he and his assassins set out to still every voice that preached peace or liberalism. Prime Minister Inukai, Finance Minister Inouye and Baron Takuma Dan, head of the great House of Mitsui, were murdered in swift succession and, two years later, Major-General Nagata, chief of the Military Affairs Bureau, and Tojo's superior, was stabbed to death as he sat in his office.

The pace, however, was too fast even for a people accustomed to assassination, and an imperial order sent Tojo into retirement. A forceful schemer and unrelenting, he soon reappeared as head of the Military Gendarmerie, a combination of Gestapo and Ogpu, and then bobbed up in command of the Kwantung army. He proceeded to aggravate the "China Incident" by marching his men into the province of Chahar, starting the bloody business that was to lay China waste. The horrors of Nanking, Hong Kong, and Shanghai did not proceed from the sudden fury of wild beasts excited by the smell of blood. Japanese troops acted under the direct orders of Tojo himself, conveyed in these precise words: "In pursuit, be thorough and *inexorable*." The bayoneting of British and Canadian captured and wounded, the rape and murder of hospital nurses, the torture of prisoners, the beheading of Chinese non-combatants until the very gutters ran blood—all of these bestialities trace back to Hideki Tojo, insane in his hate of "foreign devils" and infatuated with the German theory of *Schrecklichkeit* (frightfulness).

"Slaughter battles", the massacre of unarmed civilians, was a Tojo invention,

and it was Tojo who accelerated the opium traffic, even doping the sweets given to little children. He also rounded up vast numbers of Chinese for deportation to Manchuria, where they died by thousands under the lash of Japanese masters.

There were still some sane men in the Japanese government and, in 1936, the indefatigable Tojo engineered another "patriotic purge". Officers of the army, forming a murder gang, shot down eighty-year-old Takayashi, Minister of Finance, Admiral Saito, Lord Keeper of the Seals, and Inspector-General Watanabe. Primo Minister Okada was on the list, but the assassins killed his brother-in-law by mistake. On the heels of this purge, Tojo was made Vice-Minister of War, and lost no time in declaring for the Greater Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere, meaning an end to all white interference in the Orient.

Konoye, the Prime Minister, stood out against war with the United States, and so did Baron Hiranuma, the Home Secretary, but when an assassin's bullet put Hiranuma in a hospital bed, Konoye found it expedient to resign, and deady Hideki Tojo took his place. With the army under his absolute control and Hirohito no more than a puppet, the iron-willed gangster struck the match that was to set fire to his powder train. Hurrying Kurusu to Washington to keep the United States cajoled and befooled, he launched his attack on Pearl Harbour.

The Death March from Bataan, that ghastly journey in the course of which hundreds of American soldiers died of starvation, beating and stabbing, is another crime that lies at Tojo's doorstep. His violation of every rule of civilized warfare was deliberate, and warfare in the Pacific is marked by the same ordered animalism. Captives lashed to trees and bayoneted into pulp; others mutilated, daubed with honey and staked out on the ground for the ants to eat; still others blinded and broken and thrown into the jungle and its night creatures. For these and all other atrocities, Hideki Tojo, supreme war lord, is responsible.

Tojo stood alone, just as Mussolini stood alone, insisting on stooges rather than partners, but in Germany many men share Hitler's evil eminence. Particularly Heinrich Himmler, Minister of the Interior, and head of the Gestapo, the police, and the Black Shirt army, the fish-eyed killer is his own law by virtue of the right to imprison, torture, and butcher without warrant or trial. It is to be doubted whether even Hitler, who depends on Himmler both for his safety and the prevention of internal revolt, wields greater power.

Of all the Nazis, Himmler is at once the most fascinating and repulsive study, having no parallel in history. Back in 1923, when he left his little chicken farm to march with Hitler in the Munich *putsch*, he cut a comic figure among the reckless ex-soldiers captained by swaggering Ernst Roehm. With his myopia, retreating chin, spindly legs and mincing speech, the new recruit epitomized insignificance, and soon earned jeers as Gentle Heinrich, the sissy.

Not a gangster had the wit to look behind the thick glasses where pale, cold eyes held a calculating malignancy that was to prove even more terrifying than the hysterical rages of the Fuehrer. A poor hand at street brawls, shop wrecking and like activities that called for strength and open violence, Himmler quickly showed himself a master hand at catering to Hitler's suspicions and distrusts, developing a spy system that left no word or movement unreported. From this humble beginning as a tattler and tale-bearer, Heinrich Himmler has risen until to-day he is right at the top of the Nazi hierarchy.

Scarcely one of the many Nazi inhumanities but is the work of this bespectacled, soprano-voiced creature who once had no higher ambition than to be a big Egg Man. Concentration camps were Hitler's original conception, but Himmler set up Dachau as a class-room where he personally instructed pupils in beating, bone-breaking, latrine ducking, and mutilation. Hitler first shrilled that there was no room in the New Order for the unfit,

but it was Himmler who bombed asylums and hospitals until American correspondents estimated that he had slaughtered more than one hundred thousand sick and defective. Hitler decreed the extermination of the Jews; but it was Himmler who superintended every pogrom, even going through the records of cities, towns, and villages in his search for all with a drop of Jewish blood in their veins.

One by one he has destroyed all who stood in his path. Building up the Gestapo to a point where every prominent figure in military and civil life is spied on, he has seduced children and servants until each home has its "informer". An incautious word, the lifting of an eyebrow, and the miserable suspect is dragged away to a concentration camp or death chamber. Sadist to the core, he delights in the invention of new cruelties. It was Himmler who revived the mediæval custom of beheading, and not the least of his pleasant tricks is to send a bloody head to the family along with a bill for the sack.

Each day sees the growth of his power. First promoting the Black Shirts as a bodyguard for Hitler, Himmler has developed it into an army of four hundred thousand with its own tanks, artillery, air force, and arsenals. A picked army, recruited from those who have proved themselves in Himmler's slaughter pens, and enlarged by youths trained in Himmler's own *Schutzstaffel* "universities", where they are divorced from home and religion, taught pagan rites and schooled in the inhumanities. An army such as has never been seen before, for it has nothing to do with national defence, being organized and maintained for no other purpose than domestic terrorism.

It is in the occupied countries, however, that Himmler has given greatest rein to his blood lust and sadism. Just as his secret agents paved the way for invasion by bribery, corruption and sabotage, so did the Gestapo, following on the heels of the armed forces, take over the business of murder, torture, pillage, and deportation. All of the gauleiters are his selections, and all act under his orders. When captive peoples look up from the pit into which they have been plunged, it is the smirking face of Gentle Heinrich that looks down upon them. In every country it is a "Gestapo man" that holds supreme power, and, like a schoolteacher, Himmler goes from hell to hell, checking up on his pupils, and suggesting more ingenious methods of extermination.

Hermann Goering, high in the list of Master Criminals, is a type all by himself. Hitler and Himmler are frankly what they are, making no pretence at concealment, while Goering is at infinite pains to hide his true nature. Even American correspondents, prior to expulsion, were deceived by his calculated buffooneries into believing him a "salty, lusty, earthy type," vastly superior in every way to his fellows in the Nazi hierarchy, and at heart actually humane. Amazing credulity, for any study of the record proves that neither Hitler nor Himmler is more dangerous than the whale-bellied savage who exploits the superstition that there is no harm in a fat man. A morphine addict after the First World War, and once confined in an asylum as a paranoiac, dementia still persists under a Falstaffian veneer, and his ferocities are those of the wild boars that he loves to hunt.

It was Goering, and none other, who built up the *Luftwaffe* to be the spear-head of Germany's assault on Europe, demanding of every airman an inhuman ruthlessness. In Poland, Holland, and England he directed personally the bombing of non-military objectives, and it was by his orders that low-flying planes strafed Belgian and French highways packed with fleeing men, women and children.

It was Goering who set fire to the Reichstag as an excuse for days and nights of blood and terror, and Goering who "widened" Hitler's instructions at the time of the purge in 1934, assassinating men guilty of no other crime than that of standing in his way. It is true he urged publicly that Jews be

given the right to leave Germany, but in the same breath grinningly levied a fine of one billion marks on the Jewish population, making emigration impossible. And no protest came from him when Himmler turned every ghetto into a slaughter pen.

As Economic Dictator of the Reich, Hermann Goering has killed on a vaster scale than any other Nazi, for it was his round skull that evolved the horror of "slave labour". Not only did he establish "work camps" in every occupied country, but he imported thousands upon thousands of Poles, Czechs, Dutch, Belgians and French to slave and die in the fields and factories of the Reich. Many of his orders, left behind by German officials fleeing the Ukraine, have been published by the Russians, and are shocking in their utter inhumanity. In the hour of arraignment, when he lumbers forward with his "fat man act", these orders alone will be enough to convict him.

It is as the Voice of Nazism that Dr. Paul Josef Goebbels merits inclusion in the list of Master Criminals. Through the years he has poured his witch's brew into every well of German opinion, poisoning a people almost beyond the hope of cure. Taking up the monstrous conceptions of Hitler, he has made them gospel for the millions of the Reich, building up hate into a religion, and deforming the minds of the children into evil and enduring shapes. Himmler and Goering may kill the living, but Goebbels denies life to unborn millions. It was the black brain of this malignant little cripple that conceived the sterilization of non-Aryans and non-Nazis, carrying the idea forward until whole races were marked down for virtual extinction.

To-day it is this simian doctor who insists on keeping more than one million Frenchmen in German prison camps, away from their homes and wives; who orders the separation of married couples in occupied countries so that the "spawning of mongrels" may be brought under control; and who protects the pure Nordic strain by a decree that Polish girls must be rendered barren before they are herded into brothels for the pleasure of German supermen. All this in the name of "physical fitness", although he himself with his scrambled features and schizophrenia makes as much of a mock of the Master Race theory as does Hitler. Swarthy, dwarfish and clubfooted, he would be the first to perish under any honest application of his own racial laws.

A careful search through the life of the man reveals no decent act or even decent impulse. Born of an impoverished couple in the Rhineland, a Jesuit charity gave him his early education, and the generosity of Jews enabled him to enter the university at Heidelberg, where Jewish professors helped and encouraged the cripple. Lacking real ability, for he could not sell a single one of his many literary productions, Goebbels joined Hitler before the Munich *putsch* and soon was the loudest of all that beer-hall gang in shouting hate and infamies against Jews and Catholics.

Only Himmler had greater skill in spying and betrayal, and, by 1927, Goebbels stood at the Fuehrer's side, editor of *Der Angriff* in Berlin. A survey of this sheet (the voice of Nazism in the beginning) proves that the stunted, malformed doctor was responsible for most of the villainesses that have made Hitlerism an abomination. It was Goebbels who preached that children owed nothing to their parents, turning little ones into sneaks and informers; Goebbels who inspired the raids that turned every ghetto into a shambles; Goebbels who thought up the "book burnings" that destroyed everything worth while in German literature, and it was Goebbels, out of his own depravity, who made a national hero of Horst Wessel, the pimp killed in a street brawl.

Many, perhaps, will quarrel with Alfred Rosenberg's listing as a Master Criminal, but no other has a better right. A complete fanatic, this fat-rumped, frowzy Balt shares with Hitler himself the responsibility for many of the Nazi

shames and degradations. Doubtless the Fuehrer needed little urging, but from the very first Rosenberg screamed for the extermination of the Jews and insisted that Germany could not know health until the cancer of Christianity had been cut out. Day in and day out, the blasphemer poured forth his hatred and obscenities in a steady stream. Down with the accursed Israelites! Down with priests and pastors!

In his book, the *Myth of the Twentieth Century*, no teaching of Christ but is fouled and derided. Damning Christianity as an alien faith, too namby-pamby for a warrior race, he demanded that the "weak, maudlin booberies of the Nazarene" give way to the "splendid virilities of the old Norse gods." Family ties were dismissed as outmoded; he ridiculed the sacrament of marriage, and urged the prohibition of Christian teaching in the home.

In the hour of Allied victory, Rosenberg will undoubtedly plead that he himself has shed no blood. The answer is that his campaigns of hate had no other object than the extermination of Jews and the brutal persecution of Protestants and Catholics. He may not have clubbed rabbis to death or thrown priests from church windows, but his was the voice that urged Storm Troopers on.

Closer to Hitler than any other since the flight of Rudolf Hess, how the two came together throws a light on both. As a young man Rosenberg worked for the Ochrana, the Tsar's secret police, first in Russia and then in France. A low, sneaking *agent provocateur*! Thrown out of his job by the Bolshevik revolution, he drifted to Munich, and after the war took pay from Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria. There he met Adolf Hitler, the down-and-out house painter, also on Rupprecht's pay-roll as a spy of sorts. That was the birth of Nazism, for it was in the maggotty minds of these embittered failures that the idea of the Master Race took shape and form, Hitler screaming it from platforms and Rosenberg promoting it in the columns of an anti-Semitic weekly.

Soon, however, the cunning Balt saw that Christianity, not Judaism, was the real obstacle in the way; for the German people, while drunk with dreams of world dominion, still held to the faith of their fathers. As a result, he wrote his *Myth of the Twentieth Century*, and had it made compulsory reading along with *Mein Kampf*. Day in and day out, year after year, he has continued his drive, and when a whole people applauded the rape of Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland, can it be said that he has failed?

It may be, of course, that the United Nations will hold that the murder of the soul of a race is an indefinite charge, not recognized by international law. In that case Rosenberg can be tried as a common murderer along with the rest, for he cannot escape guilt in connection with pillage, arson, and massacre in the Ukraine. The facts stand clear. It was Rosenberg who conceived the slogan of *Lebensraum* (living space), and it was Rosenberg, as much as any other, who persuaded Hitler to break the pact with Stalin and invade Russia. Conquest of the rich Black Earth region, as he explained it, would assure the Ever-Abundant Life for Germany. And when Hitler's Panzer divisions swept over the Ukraine and the Balkan states, it was Alfred Rosenberg who put himself forward as the logical man to govern the occupied area. Not as any mere gauleiter, but as *Reichsminister* of the whole territory.

Rosenberg will claim that he did all of his governing from Berlin, and that is true enough, for the cautious Balt has never yet exposed himself to danger. But, as *Reichsminister*, how can he deny that these barbarities were carried out under his orders or else with his tacit approval?

Nothing more clearly proves the humourlessness of the Nazis—or it may be sheer ignorance—than their boast that Germans are a Master Race. Johann Gottlieb Fichte, who first advanced the claim, was a Lusatian Serb; Clausewitz had Polish blood; Bismarck was more Slav than Teuton; the great Moltke was

Danish; Nietzsche came from Czech stock; Kant, Beethoven, and Humboldt were only half German; Hitler himself is a mongrel Austrian; and Alfred Rosenberg, apostle of Thor and Wotan, and preacher of a "purely Germanic religion," is an Estonian whose grandfathers worshipped the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

CHAPTER IV

THE LITTLE HITLERS

PIERRE LAVAL HAS just missed being a master criminal. Where he has failed is in courage. The rapacity is there, the utter lack of morality, disregard of human decencies and the gift for treachery, but not the boldness that will let him stake all on the cast of the die. Too cynical for fanaticism and too cowardly for ruthlessness, he has always advanced to his mean goals by stealth, trickery, and betrayals. A weasel, loving underground ways and unhappy in the daylight.

Of all the Axis gangsters, the Frenchman is the most loathsome and despicable, for his criminalities have been without excuse. Hitler's moving impulses were his failures, frustrations, and rebellion against the sordidness of poverty and slums. Mussolini trafficked in honour to escape the cold and dirt of a hobo's life, dependence on the favour of prostitutes, and the sewer as a bed. Pierre Laval, exactly to the contrary, never knew hardship and was honoured by his country from the first day that he entered public life.

There is, in bitter truth, no better explanation of France's decline and fall in 1940, than the fact that Laval held high office for thirty years, a scrofulous streak in the nation's blood stream. A liar, a cheat, a thief, a coward, an informer, and a traitor, yet he was permitted to serve as a deputy, a senator, a member of the Cabinet, and even as Premier. Caught time and again with grimy hands, never once was he made to feel the lash of public opinion.

There was not even the excuse of a persuasive personal appeal, for the man's dirty hair, yellow teeth, and food-spotted clothes offended both the eye and the nose. As for ability, all Franco jested that Laval was "a school-teacher without education, a lawyer without knowledge of the law, and a politician without a party". Socialist, Conservative, Communist, now Catholic and now anti-clerical, he made his lack of principle a boast, his venalities a joke. As shameless as crooked, there was never a time when his official favours were not for sale. Even when Premier, he forced his Minister of Health to certify the health-giving properties of some polluted springs, and sold them for a fortune to a company under government control. Bribes gave him the funds with which to purchase a metropolitan daily, and blackmail added to his fortune.

Even patriotism had no place in his rotted soul. Prior to 1914 he tried to sell out his country to the Germans, scuttling back and forth between Paris and Switzerland on secret errands. When war came, the poltroon refused to bear arms, pleading varicose veins, and busied himself with defeatist activities. Trapped finally by the secret police, he won immunity by peaching on his confederates.

It has not yet been proved that Laval took Nazi money, but it is a matter of record that he stood for a Franco-German alliance, praising Hitler and reviling England as France's real enemy. After the flight from Paris, when Weygand and others urged the transfer of the government to North Africa, it

was Pierre Laval who induced surrender, spreading the lie that Hitler had promised honourable, even favourable, terms. At Pétain's side as vice-premier, the aged marshal soon recognized Laval as a Nazi tool, and kicked him out in a notable burst of rage. Now came crawling, bootlicking visits to Berlin, and the spring of 1942 saw Laval restored to power as Chief of Government, the real ruler of France.

It was his hope, undoubtedly, to play both ends against the middle, but Hitler proved a ruthless master, and for the first time in his life Laval was forced out into the open. Fearful of the Fuehrer's rage, and knowing well the fate that awaits him in event of Allied victory, no order from Berchtesgaden went unheeded. More than two million Frenchmen were sent into the Reich as slave labour, and riots were suppressed no less bloodily than in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Norway.

Bold at last with the courage of the cornered rat, he created a Gestapo of his own, and answered repeated attempts on his life by throwing out drag-nets that caught even women and little children. He starved Frenchmen that Germans might gorge, imposing the death penalty on farmers failing to meet their quotas of grain and garden truck; and the street corners, where starving girls were wont to sell themselves for a meal, were called "Laval markets".

Commanded by Berlin to rob and persecute the Jews, Laval obeyed with a ferocious zeal that aroused every true Frenchman to new rage and resistance. Jews were even dragged from their beds in hospitals; and, in one district alone, three hundred committed suicide rather than face the horrors of concentration camps. When the Catholic clergy protested against his barbarities, France's Little Hitler arrested priests and bishops, shouting that he did not propose to "take lessons in humanity from the preachers of a discredited faith".

False to his fellow men, his country and his God, there is small chance that Pierre Laval will live to stand trial for his crimes; but if he does escape bomb, knife, or bullet, it is not as a Master Criminal that he will be arraigned, but as a tool, a stooge.

Although Ante Pavelich, the Croat, must be classed among the Little Hitlers, he is miles removed from any likeness to Laval. Iron-willed and ruthless, as fanatical as the Fuehrer and as deadly as Himmler, it is only the smallness of his stage that has kept him from high place in the list of Master Criminals. Lucky indeed for Europe that his operations have been confined to Croatia, else Europe might have known an even greater tragedy of massacre and desolation. In less than three years, according to conservative estimate, Pavelich and his barbarous Ustashe shot, hung, or disembowelled more than six hundred thousand Serbs and Slovenes living within the borders of his so-called "State". Men, women, and children have been burned alive in their homes, hunted like beasts through the forests, and butchered in mountain caves where they tried to make a last desperate stand.

Poland? Czechoslovakia? Belgium? Holland? Serbs and Slovenes look on them as sanctuaries compared to Yugoslavia. Speaking some time ago at Sanski Most, the Croat governor of Western Bosnia laid down a law of extermination in this address to his troops: "I have just returned from Zagreb where the Poglavnik (the leader) told me that only Croats had the right to life in Croatia. There is no room for Serbs. All must perish. Let it be our pride to lead the way in getting rid of them."

If his wretched victims are to be believed, Ante Pavelich was suckled by a tigress. Lawless and ungovernable even as a boy, at an early age he identified himself with Croatian terrorists who made a business of murder, arson, and pillage. Forced to flee for his life in 1929, he found refuge in Italy and soon succeeded in convincing Il Duce that a revolution in Yugoslavia held rich possibilities. Openly, and with the backing of Mussolini, he opened a school for

terrorists in Borgodaro, scouring the slums of Europe for criminals of every nationality.

Pavelich, and none other, was responsible for the assassination of King Alexander of Yugoslavia on 9th October, 1934. As was revealed at the trial, the murderers were trained in Italy, and sent on to Marseilles where they killed both the King and Jean Louis Barthou, the French Foreign Minister. Although a Bulgarian was found guilty, the court condemned Pavelich as the true author of the crime, but Mussolini refused the request for his extradition, and continued to shower him with royal favours.

When the Germans marched into Yugoslavia in the spring of 1941, Pavelich and his terrorists were hot on their heels. Not Croats entirely, but Bulgarians, Italians, and Macedonians as well, all trained in the art of murder. Sitting at the council table as an equal with Il Duce and the Fuehrer, the assassin took Croatia for his part of the loot, and gave the others a free hand. Italy seized the greater part of Slovenia, the coast of Dalmatia, the islands of the Adriatic and proclaimed a protectorate over Montenegro. Hungary grabbed sections of Yugoslavia in the north, Bulgaria bit off large chunks in the south, and Germany seized the rest.

This division completed, Anto Pavelich then proceeded to give his allies some lessons in extermination. Jeering at Gestapo spying and such-like "pussyfoot methods", he announced that no other proof of guilt was necessary than the fact of Serbian blood. Why all the expense and bother of snooping? Kill, and ask questions afterwards. Making no effort to establish orderly government, the Poglavnik lived by loot and for murder. Nothing else interested him. And it was this inhuman creature that Rome received as an honoured guest when he came in search of a puppet king! Victor Emmanuel and Il Duce praised him as a "deliverer"; and Ciano, throwing his arms about Pavelich, boasted of the whole horrible Croatian business as "*my diplomatic coup*".

Hadj Amin al-Husseini, that crafty, perjured old man once Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, is another who came close to evil eminence; for, had his plans not gone awry, he might have made himself Fuehrer of the Arab world. Only a fluke revealed his plans for a holy war against the accursed infidels, and forced him into flight. A combination of thug, saint, swindler, racketeer, killer, and fanatic, the Mufti has no parallel even in the Rogues' Gallery of the Axis.

For fifteen years this cunning Levantine gave all Palestine a blood bath, murdering and pillaging with a ferocity that did not spare women and children, yet until the very last he enjoyed the trust of those he butchered and betrayed. To-day, royally housed in a Berlin palace, he still has Dr. Goebbels believing that he can stir Moslems to revolt, and draws large sums annually for his daily broadcasts. What makes it all the more fantastic is that the Mufti's criminality was never a matter of doubt. A pilgrimage to Mecca constituted his one claim to religious distinction, and his pedigree, supposedly going back to Mohammed, was bought from a corrupt Turkish judge. During the First World War he took money from the Turks with one hand, and sold information to the British with the other. After the war he hired out to the great Arab landlords in Palestine as a gangster, and led a series of bloody raids on Jewish communities, killing, burning, and looting.

Arrested by the British in 1920 for one particularly brutal pogrom, he served just one year of his ten-year sentence, cozening the High Commissioner into believing that he was a repentant whose one hope was to atone for his misdeeds. And the man that he fobbed was Sir Herbert Samuel, a Jew! More than that, the British proceeded to force the parolee's election as Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, a position of supreme authority. Under the Islamic law, three groups met to consider candidates, and by an overwhelming vote rejected the claims of Hadj Amin. Even when the British insisted on his inclusion, he ran

last in the balloting, whereupon they stepped in and confirmed Hadj Amin as Mufti over the protests of the first three candidates and a majority of the electors.

Thanks to this incredible stupidity, the murderous old man was now chin-deep in clover. Holding a post of extraordinary power, and with a subsidy of £20,000 a year from the confiding Britons, he gave free rein to his avarice and his hates. Even as he stole from the funds raised by Arabs for relief, so did he order massacres as part of a dark design to rid Arabia of Jews and Christians. In Jerusalem, Hebron, and Jaffa, the bodies of "infidels" littered the streets or charred in the rubble of blazing homes. Fanatics and mercenaries handled the bloody work; but the planning, directing mind was that of the benign, saintly figure who sat in Jerusalem, bemoaning the "outrages", and begging the British to believe that his prayers were for peace and accord.

All this while the Mufti watched the rise of Adolf Hitler, and by 1936 he had made his secret bargain with the Germans. Under the agreement, he was to start a "holy war" that would drive the British out of the Near East and realize the Berlin-to-Baghdad dream of the Kaiser. Soon arms and munitions began to be slipped in, and stored against the day when the Fuehrer would give the word to strike.

Whether the treacherous, scheming old man meant to keep faith with the Germans, or attempt to make himself another Mohammed, lord and master of the Moslem world, will never be known. By a stroke of luck, British agents uncovered the plot in time, and Hadj Amin fled to Lebanon, disguised as a beggar. From that point he shouted vain calls for a *jihad*, and at the outbreak of war in 1939, Hitler ordered him to transfer his patriarchal beard and gentle face to Irak. There, too, he failed, for the Moslems would have none of him, and at last, in fear of his life, he weaseled out to Germany.

Then each day, as regularly as the muezzin, the Mufti, still oozing saintliness at every pore, broadcast appeals from Berlin to the Arabs of the Near East, urging them to recognize the Fuehrer as a champion of Islam. All without effect, for Moslems remember his murders, also his loot of relief funds, and wait impatiently for the time when they can lay avenging hands on him.

Just as the career of Pierre Laval is an indictment of the French people, so is the whole Nazi régime indicted by Julius Streicher's position as gauleiter of the Bavarian province of Franconia. Ignorance cannot be pleaded as an excuse, for even at the time of his appointment, the crimes, degeneracies, and obscenities of the man were matters of court record and Press report. In 1919, for example, certain unmentionable practices earned his discharge as a school-teacher, on the grounds that he was "mentally unsound". The authorities, however, decided against prosecution out of unwillingness to make public the names of his little victims. Neither can any plea of ignorance extenuate his continuance in office, for his vilenesses are so open and notorious that he is known throughout all Germany as the Mad Dog.

Nothing delights him more than to tear out the beards of rabbis with his own hands, or to drive the car that drags Jewish men and women over the cobbles of Nuremberg. Never seen without a riding-crop, he whips boys and girls in the streets, although it is more his habit to indulge in sadism while lolling naked in his office, not even a stitch covering his gross body. According to reputable American correspondents, he has been known to have one of his "transports" at Nazi meetings, laying about him with his crop until seized by Storm Troopers.

An intimate of Hitler, and a frequent guest, here is a choice excerpt from Dr. Rauschning's report of a luncheon meeting at Berchtesgaden: "Streicher," Hitler continued, laughing himself, "has suggested that in the next war they [the Jews] should be driven ahead of our attacking lines. They would be the best protection for our soldiers. I shall consider the suggestion."

An ardent follower of Alfred Rosenberg, Streicher never stops his bellow that both Christianity and Judaism must be destroyed, and goes even further by declaring that Adolf Hitler is "the one and only God". At a time when Goering and Goebbels advocated caution with respect to attacks on the Catholic Church, the gauleiter of Franconia arrested priests and bishops on charges of venery, pederasty, and similar figments of his diseased imagination, dragging saintly old men into court to endure his jibes and insults. The liquidation of the ghettos of Nuremberg, a barbarous business, was superintended by him personally, for he revels in the sight and smell of blood.

Does this seem far-fetched and hysterical? Then read *Der Stürmer*, the illustrated weekly published by Streicher since 1922. It is in the pages of this foul sheet that the man stands self-revealed, not only admitting his crimes but gloating over them. Pornography fights for space with hate and thuggery. Side by side with disgusting nudes are pictures of Jews that Streicher has killed, either sprawled where they fell after being stoned to death, or else dangling from gibbets. Not in all the history of printing has any Press produced a paper more unutterable, brutal, and obscene; and yet, by order of Adolf Hitler himself, it is obligatory reading in Germany.

Hans Frank, the Governor-General of Poland, ranks high in the list of Little Hitlers. Chosen above all others to carry out the Fuehrer's orders for the extermination of a whole people, he has amply justified the faith placed in him. Under his savage rule, two million Jews and one million Poles have been killed outright by one means or another, and two million are dying, or have died, in labour camps. The reduction of the population by a seventh is no small achievement, and excuses the Governor-General's abnormal self-conceit. Poles who do not bare their heads as he rides through the streets are arrested, and if his speeches fail to receive adequate applause, civic leaders are thrown into prison.

Like so many others of the Fuehrer's intimates, Frank came from the underworld. The son of an embezzler, and himself a police-court lawyer, he first came into prominence as the mouthpiece for Storm Troop thugs and vandals. As in the case of Hitler, Frank's failures and frustrations bred hates and ferocities, and these qualities soon attracted the admiration of Roehm, Himmler, and other leaders. Promotion followed promotion; and when the Nazis came into power, the slimy pettifogger, always on the edge of disbarment, was made Reich Commissioner for the Co-ordination of Justice in the German States, and for the Renovation of the Administration of Laws.

His job, of course, was to bring every German judge and court under the control of Hitler and his gangsters, making the law of the land an instrument of Nazi graft and terrorism. Within a month from the day of appointment, the prison doors were opened for every Storm Trooper, no matter what the crime. The manner in which he discharged his task of debauchment earned still more commendation, and when Poland lay prostrate in 1939, the Fuehrer personally chose him for the post of Governor-General.

Many and ingenious have been his methods for carrying out the Fuehrer's commands for extermination. It was Frank, for example, who conceived the idea of mass slaughter as quicker and more terroristic than individual death sentences. From the first it has been his habit to line up hundreds at a time in public squares and mow them down with machine-guns. The widowed and the orphaned attend to the burials, bayonets forcing them to dump the shattered bodies into open ditches. It was Frank who originated the practice of hurling hand-grenades into pens where prisoners were packed like cattle, Frank who drove barefooted men, women, and children into goods-vans ankle-deep in quicklime, and Frank who halted trains in winter forests, kicking aged and infirm out into the snow with instructions to "follow their noses".

One of his first acts was to give Polish farmers fifteen minutes to get out of

their homes, taking only what could be carried in their hands, and leaving everything else for the German "colonists" that were to come. Nazi moderates, pointing out that there would not be enough "colonists" to till the fields, urged that some Poles be left on the land, but Frank jeered at them as mollicoddles. Such land as could not be cultivated by Germans would be turned into forest or even desert, for Poland must be rid of Poles. Death for all Jews and "intellectuals", labour camps for workers, brothels and domestic drudgeries for the women, and sterilization to prevent their spawning.

Liquidating an entire population, however, is not a quick or easy task, for the days and nights are only just so long. What Frank has done, therefore, is to call starvation and disease to his aid. All foodstuffs are under his control, and rationing has been reduced to a point where it is below subsistence level. Poles are denied the medicines and medical care made necessary by malnutrition, filth, and exposure, and the death rate is going up by leaps and bounds.

Joseph Buerckel, the gauleiter of Lorraine, merits inclusion in the list of Little Hitlers because he is the Fuehrer's invariable choice when it comes to crushing a stubborn people. The Saar, Moravia, and Austria all felt his wild-beast rages before the transfer to poor, unhappy Lorraine.

A soldier in the First World War, Buerckel had no taste for peace after the loot of Belgium and France, and joined the Nazi movement in its street rowdy stage. Showing a very definite gift for thuggery, his rise was rapid, and when the Saar was reoccupied in 1935, to Joseph went the job of eradicating all French and Catholic influence. Not the least of his infamies, *à la* Streicher, was the organized circulation of vile charges against the clergy. Venerable prelates were actually arrested and tried on charges of degeneracy invented by Buerckel's agents.

Having proved his worth in the Saar, in 1939 Joseph was switched to Moravia, where the people were evidencing considerable dissatisfaction with the New Order. There he tortured and killed on a scale that drew words of commendation from Himmler, and as a reward he was chosen to teach Austrians the German way of life. A rare judge of degenerates, his choice for chief of police in Vienna was Josef Fitzhum, a twice-convicted criminal, once for swindling and the second time for the murder of his mistress. By way of climax to months of terrorism, Buerckel kidnapped the thirteen-year-old son of ex-Chancellor Schuschnigg from the Jesuit college at Kalksburg, and killed him so secretly that the body has never been found.

Two reasons were at the back of his transfer to Lorraine in 1940 after the fall of France. One was to make a place for Baldur von Schirach, whose perversions had made him too malodorous even for Berlin. The second was the need for a strong hand to break the spirit of the stubborn Lorrainers, and bring about complete Germanization of the province. Buerckel was the unanimous choice, all agreeing that if any man could bring the French *Schwein* to their senses, that man was Joseph.

Certainly the manner in which he started off gave every promise of success. A first order called for the burning of all French books and the banning of the French language. A second order confiscated all banks, stores, and factories, taking them away from French owners and turning them over to Germans. A third order rounded up all males between eighteen and fifty for deportation to the factories of the Reich. A fourth decree expropriated all farms for the use of German "colonists". Nothing was permitted to be carried off except on the back or in the hands. Houses, livestock, crops, farm implements, everything was left behind for the new owners. Death was the penalty for the violation of any order, and by way of proving that he was not indulging in any figure of speech, Buerckel staged mass executions in the public squares.

Instead of Buerckel breaking Lorraine, however, it began to lool¹ as if

Lorraine would break Buerckel. Thousands were killed and thousands deported, but to no avail. The hostages that he shot in reprisal for sabotage called on their families and friends to continue resistance. Farmers burnt their homes and crops, and owners blew up their factories rather than turn them over to the Germans. Unfortunately, Buerckel had the tanks and machine-guns, and he showed himself an expert at using them.

General Hermann von Hanneken, the German ruler of Denmark, is another Little Hitler who suffers from the intractability of a stubborn people who have no fear of death. At this writing there is an unconfirmed report to the effect that he has been superseded by Kurt Daluege, the "butcher" of Czechoslovakia. If true, it is an injustice to a conscientious, hard-working killer, for there was no measure of inhumanity that General von Hanneken did not take in his furious determination to break the spirit of the Danes.

At first, it may be remembered, Hitler tried the "velvet glove" technique after his treacherous invasion of Denmark with a force that made resistance impossible. Although an iron control was exercised by the Germans, the King and Royal Family were given due respect, and local officials granted a fairly free hand in the conduct of internal affairs. Himmler's Gestapo kept out of sight, and there were no such wholesale arrests, mass executions, and deportations as terrorized other occupied countries.

Eventually, however, Hitler's bitter necessities forced a change of attitude, and as the Danish people began to protest against the confiscation of crops, livestock, and public funds, the prisons filled, and a concentration camp came into being. Instead of crushing resistance, Danes settled down to sabotage as a business, and soon led all other conquered peoples with a record of twenty acts every twenty-four hours. France, with fifteen deeds of sabotage a day, came second. Railways and ammunition dumps were blown up, machinery ruined, strategic materials destroyed, and textiles rendered useless by liberal applications of acid. Underground papers began to be printed, and professors and pastors openly encouraged resistance.

On 29th August, 1943, Hitler decided that the time had come to drop pretence, and General von Hanneken, a 100 per cent Prussian, was given a free hand. His first move was to declare a military dictatorship, and his second the importation of six thousand Gestapo veterans from Berlin. Making King Christian a virtual prisoner, and suspending all civil processes, the General ordered the public execution of all persons even suspected of sabotage, and raided the homes of Denmark for preachers, teachers, writers, and other leaders of opinion.

In October, as these methods were without result, he decreed the arrest and deportation of all Jews, accusing them of inciting sabotage and riot. Some six thousand was the number, constituting an element long an integral part of Danish life, and Hanneken's order caused a flame of indignation to sweep the land. King Christian attended services in a Copenhagen synagogue, and not a pastor but cried denunciations from his pulpit. German ships, sent to carry Jews to Poland, were dynamited in the harbours, and Gestapo squads were openly attacked as they dragged men and women from their homes. Actively aided by the Danish police, citizens hid Jews in their houses until such time as Danish fishermen, with their small boats, could ferry them across the Oeresund to Sweden. More than five thousand escaped in this manner, although Gestapo men, stationed every hundred yards, guarded the water-fronts.

Baffled and enraged, General von Hanneken arrested and executed on a nation-wide scale, and made it known that the death penalty would be visited on any Dane guilty of "deteriorating relations" with the Reich. Dr. Kaj Munk, the great pastor and playwright, gave him an instant answer in these words: "I would rather see the relations of Denmark deteriorate with Germany than with Christ." Dr. Munk, snatched from his rectory in the Jutland town

of Vedersøe without even being permitted to bid his family farewell, was hurried to Hanneken's headquarters, and assassinated by his guards as he left.

A blunder of magnitude, for the crime swept away the last German hope of Danish collaboration in the New Order. Every voice of caution and compromise has been stilled, and not a man, woman, or child in the whole of Denmark but lives for vengeance. General Hermann von Hanneken may be relieved and sent to tyrannize over some other country; but, in the hour of Allied victory, nothing is more certain than that the Danes will demand his return.

CHAPTER V

THE LITTLE HIMMLERS

NOTHING MORE CLEARLY proves the fell intent of Germany's Master Criminals than their choice of men to rule captive countries. Almost without exception, they lack education, culture, decency and ability, and are chosen for their brutishness, depravity, and degeneracies. Look at them! Josef Terboven, the street ruffian and petty crook; Baldur von Schirach, the pervert; Julius Streicher, sadist and pederast; Kurt Daluege, the Berlin street-sweeper; Stuepnagel, convicted of theft and murder in the First World War; Artur Greiser, racketeer and underworld figure; Karl Hermann Frank, bankrupt bookseller—it is these and others like them who have been given the power of life and death over helpless millions.

Never was there a more explicit confession of dark purpose. Berlin's orders cannot enter into exact detail, and, necessarily, it is up to governors and gauleiters to devise methods of execution. As decent types might shrink from massacre, torture and wholesale deportations, emphasis is placed on the selection of men whose callousness and criminality have been established beyond all doubt. That Hitler, Himmler, and Goering have chosen carefully is proved by the record.

Josef Terboven, to start off with one of the most fiendish, has a "success story" more spectacular than any ever written by Horatio Alger. The son of a German saloon-keeper, serving as a bar-boy when he should have gone to school, he is to-day the *Reichskommissar* of Norway, despotic ruler of three million people. At twenty a chucker-out in a billiards-saloon, kicked out of every job for drinking and incompetence, he is now one of the richest men in all Europe. All because he saw Hitler as a rising star when others thought him a clown. As early as 1925 he was Number One Nazi in Essen, the head of a gang of young thugs that looted Jews and collected tribute from small shops under threat of wrecking. In 1933, as a member of the Reichstag and Over-President of the Rhineland, he was extorting millions where once he had blackmailed for small change. A shrewd fellow, this Josef Terboven. Instead of bagging it all, he shared his plunder. Hermann Goering, for example, was given Fritz Thyssen's great steelworks as a dinner favour.

Terboven's transfer to Norway in 1940, made necessary by Quisling's flop as a Fuehrer, must have been a blow, but with his gift of adaptability, the *Reichskommissar* found ways to make provincial life endurable. In the country home of the Crown Prince near Oslo, Terboven held high wassail every night, surrounded by carefully selected strumpets from every European centre. It is also the case that the stubborn Norse furnish better sport than the Jews and fat industrialists of the Rhineland.

Not that the *Reichskommissar* started with the rough stuff. Far from it. At first it was the velvet glove rather than the iron hand. Just a few gentle preliminary measures, such as a curfew law that locked Norwegians in their homes at seven o'clock, cutting off telephones and lights, the execution of a few "intellectuals" by way of warning, and the confiscation of all foodstuffs, followed by rationing at a starvation level. As an added touch, he had Germans sit in the public squares and eat chocolate spread thick with butter.

Unfortunately, the stout Norwegians persisted in sabotage, and the *Reichskommissar* was forced to adopt "disciplinary measures". Thousands were sent to the Reich as slave labour, thousands put behind barbed-wire in concentration camps, and other thousands herded into torture-chambers. Setting aside the oath of secrecy for ministers, doctors and lawyers, Terboven and his men paid particular attention to these classes as most likely to possess information about the "underground". Running red-hot wires under finger-nails was a favourite method.

The Norwegian embassy in Washington keeps a fairly accurate record of Terboven's crimes, hopeful of the day when he will be called to account for them. The list, regrettably, is so long that only certain illustrative incidents can be cited. When the mines at Fosdalen were blown up, the male inhabitants were shot one at a time, loud-speakers blaring out the details as though reporting a ball game. After the killing of a German soldier in Televaag, eighteen hostages were executed, the rest of the population sent to concentration camps, and the village burned to the last house. When three hundred young Norsemen went to England with the raiders who bombed the Lofoten Islands, their families were killed or imprisoned, and their homes razed to the ground.

As a result of the refusal of Norway's teachers to use Nazi books in the schools, one thousand were arrested. Forced to crawl on their bellies through ice and snow, day after day, half of them died. The rest were taken to Trondheim and packed below decks, without food, water, or toilets, in an old hulk tied up at the dock. Even the Nazi governor telegraphed a protest, but Terboven answered coldly that the fools had "missed their chance". Taken to a labour camp up near the Arctic Circle, nothing has since been heard of them.

If Arthur Seyss-Inquart, *Reichskommissar* for Holland, cannot match torture-camps and massacres with the German rulers of other occupied areas, it is from no lack of will. Differing conditions cramp his style. Not only are the Dutch a sturdy people, admirably fitted to toil in the fields and factories of the Reich, but being Germany's next-door neighbours, their transportation presents few difficulties. "Labour drafts" can be loaded into trucks or even driven on foot like sheep, herded by motor-cycles.

Under strict orders from Berlin, therefore, Seyss-Inquart has been forced to deport rather than kill outright. According to latest figures supplied by the "underground", one million Dutchmen have been dragged away from their homes and sent across the border to slave for German masters. A fairly dull business, but the *Reichskommissar* has contrived to enliven it with certain sadistic touches. The wives, mothers and children, left behind in Holland, are held as hostages, and when word comes from the Reich that a deportee has shirked or rebelled, a member of his family is murdered.

Not that Seyss-Inquart is barred entirely from wholesale blood-letting. In the matter of non-Aryans, for example, he has a free hand, and authenticated reports confirm the Dutch contention that the ghettos of Warsaw, Berlin, and Prague furnish no greater instances of abominable cruelty than the extermination of the Jews in Holland. There is also an open season on "intellectuals", so that the *Reichskommissar* has been able to go as far as he likes in the liquidation of teachers, writers, preachers, professional men and other leaders of Dutch opinion.

Strangely enough, the Dutch stress the despicability of the man rather than his crimes. Most of the Nazi chieftains were failures, embracing Nazism as an escape from obscurity and frustration, or else gangsters by choice and training. Seyss-Inquart has no such excuse. The son of a Moravian professor, he studied law in Vienna, and went on to attain high standing both in his profession and the public life of Austria. What moved him to enter into a deal with Hitler to betray his country was a definite reptilian quality that lay coiled in the mud of his soul.

Even when neck-deep in Nazi plots, no voice was louder in declaring that Austria must always be free. Responsible for the assassination of Engelbert Dollfuss, while the body still bled Seyss-Inquart threw himself at Schuschnigg's feet, begging to serve his beloved motherland. First as Councillor of State, and then as Minister of the Interior in charge of Internal Defence, he discharged and seduced until every key-post was filled by a Nazi. Only when Hitler sounded the signal for invasion did he show himself in his true colours, rushing out to open the city gates.

Made *Reichsstatthalter* of the Ostmark (the German name for annexed Austria), the traitor's tenure lasted less than a year. The sight of him, the sound of him, kept enraged Austrians in revolt, and Himmler finally recommended removal. Not until 1940, when the Germans overran Holland, was there opportunity to utilize his particular talents. Hitler and Goering, with true German inability to understand other peoples, held to the fallacy that the Dutch, as realists, could be won to "collaboration". And who, indeed, was a better man to lie and trick than Arthur Seyss-Inquart?

Confidently enough, as an expert in betrayal, the new *Reichskommissar* set about his task. Lifting his hands to heaven, he sobbed his love for the Dutch, and begged them to believe him their true friend. The trick fell flat, for the "underground" scrawled contempt on every dead wall. Lower than Judas they brand him, for Judas had the decency to hang himself. Bitter indeed are the penalties for this defiance. A million deported and thousands shot or hung; but the Dutch have no regrets. Better the hate of Seyss-Inquart, they say, than his loathsome, snivelling hypocrisies.

When Czech patriots killed "Hangman" Heydrich they may have thought that his equal in savagery could not be found. Kurt Daluge, his successor, soon convinced them otherwise. Heydrich murdered methodically, killing and looting as part of the day's grind; Daluge brought zest and imagination to the job. Evolving the theory of "collective guilt", Daluge plunged into an orgy of massacre.

Lidice and Lesaky were demolished as examples, but no town entirely escaped. "Summary courts" sentenced thousands to be hanged or shot. Bishops, priests, school-teachers and professional men were particularly the objects of his fury, for, as he explained publicly, "Every intellectual is a maggot of unrest".

Kurt Daluge is the perfect Nazi type both in background and development. Only twenty in 1918, four years of arson and pillage had unfitted him for peace. Joining up with guerrilla bands dignified as *Freikorps*, he looted for a while in Upper Silesia. On the restoration of order, however, he found himself dead broke, due to his habit of carousal; and being without education or trade, all that offered was a street-cleaning job in Berlin.

There he stayed until Adolf Hitler, backed by the money of Fritz Thyssen and other gullible industrialists, began recruiting gangsters at high wages. Daluge was among the first to enlist as a Storm Trooper and he soon stood forth from the rank and file by reason of reckless daring and bubbling brutality. It was not until 1928, however, that his talents were fully recognized. Discovering a revolt plot among the Berlin Storm Troopers, he personally hunted down and murdered the conspirators with a cunning and ferocity that left none alive.

Now "my brave Kurt", as Hitler sobbingly acclaimed him, was made the Fuehrer's bodyguard and Number One gunman. When Hitler seized supreme power in 1933, his first act was to give Kurt Daluege the post of Police General of Berlin. Daluege's conduct of the office, with purges, pogroms and confiscations carried on efficiently and with relish, earned the commendation even of Himmler. When, therefore, Czech hand-grenades made it necessary to select Reinhard Heydrich's successor, Kurt Daluege stood forth as the man for the job.

So thoroughly did he do the job that the post of Protector was turned over to Wilhelm Frick, Germany's Secretary of the Interior until succeeded by Himmler. Daluege himself was transferred to the field, for, with defeat staring him in the face, Hitler is fearful of betrayal by the generals. Every army commander now has a Storm Trooper or Gestapo gangster at his back, watching every move. Kurt Daluege must be in a dither of anticipation, for he has not yet had the distinction of killing a general.

Turning to Otto von Stuepnagel who was Chief Military Protector of Paris by virtue of Adolf Hitler's faith in his cruelty, his case proves conclusively that there is indeed a fatal fascination that draws a criminal back to the scene of his crime. During the First World War, when the Germans overran northern France, Stuepnagel attained evil eminence by the thoroughness of his savagery.

A major at the time, he put into practice the policy of frightfulness commanded by Clausewitz. Not only arson, murder, pillage, and impoverishing fines imposed upon communities, but the systematized destruction of industry and agriculture. Machinery, raw materials, livestock and foodstuffs were requisitioned, fields laid waste and orchards cut down and, as a final touch, the inhabitants were turned into beasts of burden.

After the armistice, the French branded Stuepnagel as a common thief and murderer, demanding his extradition, but the wave of maudlin sentimentality that had swept the world let him go free along with all the other war criminals. A swinish dolt without other distinction than his Prussian brutality, Stuepnagel dropped from sight and would have sunk deeper into obscurity but for the death of an uncle who left him a Berlin newspaper. Hitler was beginning to make his bid for power at the time, and Stuepnagel turned the sheet over to the Nazis and became one of the Fuehrer's most slavish followers.

Not until 1940, when France lay prostrate, did he ask for his reward, and then he rushed forward with the insistence that he be put in charge of the army of occupation. All through the years, the Prussian had nursed a sullen rage against the French for having dared to brand him a criminal, looking forward to another *Der Tag* that would put his heel on their necks a second time. Since the job was one that called for brute force rather than brains, Hitler signed the order, and once again Otto von Stuepnagel was back in France, a general and master of life and death. Establishing headquarters in the Hôtel Crillon, and surrounding himself with an army of guards, he lost no time in letting the French know what to expect.

When the people of Paris crowded the streets on November 11, 1940, attempting to celebrate Armistice Day, Stuepnagel shot them down like sheep. Evolving the theory of "collective responsibility", later used by every German commander in every occupied area, he announced that cities, towns and villages would be held accountable for individual acts of sabotage or violence. Civic leaders, women as well as men, were herded into prisons and kept as hostages for the good conduct of the community.

It was not only open violences that were punishable by death under Stuepnagel's savage rule. On 30th April, 1943, thirty citizens of Paris were executed for having scribbled "*D plus G égale V*" on walls (*De Gaulle plus*

Giraud equals Victory). Listening to the British broadcasts, speaking disrespectfully of the Fuehrer, reading underground newspapers, all these and many more were made capital offences.

It was the spirit of the French people that the Prussian meant to break, and along with mass murder he used such methods as starvation and deportation. Rations were reduced to a point well below subsistence level, and French workers were seized in the fields and factories and shipped off to the Reich without opportunity to bid their families good-bye. Jews, of course, were particular objects of his rage. At one time he fined "all non-Aryans" in the occupied zone one billion francs, gibing that it was a "belated fine" for having crucified Christ.

General Baron Alexander von Falkenhausen, Hitler's choice to rule prostrate Belgium, may seem to be a vastly different type from the gutter products who have run amuck in other occupied countries. Tall, monocled and elegant, cultured in speech and manner, he presents the perfect picture of a German noble. At heart, however, he is no less the barbarian, and brings to his task far greater efficiency. Unlike the Terbovens, the Daluages and the Franks, who torture, kill and burn out of sheer ferocity, the General Baron's inhumanity is cold-blooded, studied and scientifically precise. Nothing is done in rage or by chance, for as a soldier he follows implicitly the instructions laid down by *Kriegsbrauch im Landkriege*, the war manual that is the Bible of every German officer.

With terrifying thoroughness he devastated, terrorized and enslaved until only in the fastnesses of the Ardennes, where hunted thousands found refuge, was there escape from his iron hand. If he failed to indulge in wholesale massacre, as in Poland and Czechoslovakia, it was not because of any human feeling, but from a Prussian dislike of waste. Why kill good slave labour? One of his first acts was to close every establishment that could not contribute to Nazi war needs, and then decree the conscription of all males between 18 and 50, and all women between 18 and 35. At the last count, some six hundred thousand Belgians, a third of the country's labour force, had been deported to the Reich, Norway, France, and the Ukraine. The remaining two-thirds were given the choice of work for German masters or starvation.

Sabotage, of course, was punished by the murder of innocent people; but here again the General Baron was careful to conserve his labour supply. Hostages were usually drawn from the ranks of teachers, preachers, authors, officials and other "intellectuals" not fitted for drudgery in factory and field. The aged and the young, of no particular use, were allowed to die of malnutrition, the General Baron simply reducing their rations. This, as he sees it, is not sadism but common sense. Why waste food on non-producers? A sure method and a quiet one, much less provocative than open killing.

All in all, a very prudent man. Instead of shooting or hanging "trouble makers" in the public square, they were invariably spirited away at night to Breendonck, a concentration camp presided over by the Gestapo. There, behind barbed wire, and safe from prying eyes, they were "tortured with every device of sadistic cruelty," according to *La Libre Belgique*, the underground newspaper. The General Baron, however, took care to see none of this, and always protested surprise and shock when details of horrors leaked out from Breendonck, fairly oozing sympathy as he assured widows and orphans that the matter would receive his immediate attention. With the same suavity he explained his suppression of free speech and free Press on the ground that it was only done to avert bloodshed. If agitators stirred up revolt, he would have to put it down by gunfire, and that would be too heart-breaking. Closing schools was not for the purpose of reducing Belgians to an animal level, but merely to protect against "false teachings".

By turning torture and murder over to his secret agents, and excusing

deportations by alleging that he acted under orders from Berlin, General Baron von Falkenhausen tried hard to give the impression that he was a soldier discharging a distasteful task. What nonsense! Prussian to the core, he has had every drop of humanity drilled out of him, and in common with every other German officer, looks on the *Kriegsbrauch* as Holy Writ. More than that, he is a bitter man with a grudge. He was all set to be the Nazi boss of England, ruling the British Isles from Buckingham Palace, and then the stupid pig-dogs refused to surrender.

When Baldur von Schirach entered Vienna in 1940 as gauleiter and *Reichsstatthalter*, succeeding savage Joseph Buerckel, Austrians may have had some expectation that he would end the beatings, murders and pillage that made life in the enslaved country a thing of fear and horror. The new ruler was a poet of sorts, and as head of the German Youth Movement had sung lyrically of love, happiness and beauty. More than that, he was the son of an American mother whose forebears had fought for freedom at Bunker Hill and Valley Forge. Even his name carried a certain assurance, for Baldur, son of Odin and Frigga, was the god of summer sunlight.

The disillusionment of the Austrians came quickly, for Schirach proceeded to match Buerckel in cruelty and blood lust. In his initial proclamation he announced that his soul would not give him rest until he had driven every Jew from the land, and put a swastika in the place of every cross of Christ. This pledge has been kept to the letter, for one hundred and eighty-five thousand Jews have been liquidated, and such priests and pastors as still remain at large walk in dread. An ardent disciple of Alfred Rosenberg, it is the worship of the old Norse gods that Schirach means to force on his unhappy subjects.

Many of the one hundred and eighty-five thousand Jews were beaten to death, but the larger part went to Poland in locked vans without food or water. In winter they froze, in summer they suffocated, and as a result, few were left alive at the end of the nightmare journey. After the ghettos had been cleaned out, Schirach devised an ingenious method for picking up all those who had escaped the first drag-net. In the cities, streets were roped off without warning, and Storm Troopers personally examined each man and woman. Aryans were released, but Jews were thrown into trucks and hustled off to the station without being given an opportunity to collect personal belongings or to notify their families. As relatives came out of hiding to hunt for missing loved ones, these too were arrested and deported.

Every Catholic school and convent in Austria was closed, and at the last count, eighteen priests had been assassinated, and four hundred and seventy-nine were known to be in jails or concentration camps. The liquidation of the College of the Holy Virgin, in particular, stirred all Vienna to a madness of rage that had to be put down by gunfire. Atrocities piled on atrocities. Not only was Josef Fitzthum—Buerckel's infamous Chief of Police—continued in office, but under Schirach's approving eye the beast devised new bestialities. As an example, Josef Beyer, an Austrian official in Oberwarth, Burgenland, was slowly cut to pieces while still alive. Fitzthum's barbarities shocked even hardened Nazis, but Baldur the Beautiful found them good.

A peculiarly nasty piece of work, this *Reichsstatthalter* of Austria. Born in 1907 in Weimar, he was an early convert to the Nazi faith, and at seventeen headed a Hitler movement in the city schools. Lehmann was his father's name, but doubtless disliking the sound of it, Baldur calmly changed to von Schirach. The true owners of the name, properly outraged, brought an action and won a judgment, but little good it did them. By that time the Nazis were strong enough to have it set aside, and at a later date the judge himself was sent to a concentration camp.

In 1928 Baldur rose to be director of Hitler Youth in all of the public schools, and in 1933—when Hitler became Chancellor—was made Youth Leader for

the whole of Germany. Rosenberg, Goebbels and Ley cannot escape responsibility for the systematic debauchment of German boys and girls; but Schirach was the spearhead of the drive against chastity, continence and every Christian teaching. Day in and day out he bawled the divinity of the sex impulse, demanding the release of every inhibition.

Like so many other prominent Nazis, however, Schirach's sex urges were more than a little errant, departing widely and frequently from the normal, and in 1940 his adventures in pederasty became an open scandal. As he was too valuable to the Party to be jailed or shot, Hitler wriggled out of the dilemma by transferring Buerckel to Lorraine, and giving the vacated place to Baldur the Beautiful.

Hans Frank, the Little Hitler of Poland, had many Little Himmlers at his side, for the liquidation of a whole people, quite obviously, is not a one-man job. Among his most efficient helpers may be named Dr. Ludwig Fischer, governor of the Warsaw District; Koerner, governor of the Lublin District; Wachter, governor of the Cracow District, and Artur Greiser, *Reichsstatthalter* of the so-called Wartheland, comprising Poznan and the adjacent territory of Central Poland as far as the Vistula on the north east. All have proved their inhumanity, but Greiser, in the opinion of the Poles, equals Frank in savagery. In picking him, Himmler plunged into mud even deeper than usual, for Greiser had his beginning as the leader of a mob of underworld gangsters that robbed and terrorized Polish citizens, now and then killing a Jew.

A foul-mouthed illiterate, both the man and his tactics were much admired by the Fuehrer. When a fake election turned Danzig over to Nazi control, orders from Berlin elevated Greiser to the presidency of the Senate, where his antics and obscenities disgusted even the German population. Once appearing before the League of Nations in Geneva, the gangster spat at the correspondents, thumbed his nose at the delegates, and bawled "Heil Hitler" in Anthony Eden's face.

By way of showing the spirit in which he approaches his work, here are some quotations from Herr Greiser: "When God introduced justice into the world, He also created hatred. And that is how we have learned to hate Poles. . . . From the beginning I took the attitude that the German is now lord in this country. I renew the call to firmness. Be hard, and again be hard—the land must be made *Polenfrei und Judenfrei* [Pole-free and Jew-free]." Even so, the *Reichsstatthalter* has been able to kill and deport only a million up to date, but he has not lost confidence.

In the main, Greiser's methods are those laid down by Governor-General Frank, but he has introduced certain originalities of his own. One of his practices is to herd women and girls into the public square, strip them naked, and the Storm Troopers examine them for venereal disease. Nudity, in fact, seems to be an obsession with him. A favourite punishment is to deprive prisoners of their clothes, and women, when scrubbing floors, are forced to use their undergarments instead of mops.

CHAPTER VI

THE PROPHEIS OF BAAL

ELIJAH THE TISHBITITE does not record that the servitors of Baal ever stained hands with blood or harried the land with fire and sword. Their only crime was that they preached the worship of a false god, and sought to make abomina-

tions acceptable and popular. Tried before a modern court under the rules of law, all would have gone scot free. Yet in the hour when their frantic calls went unanswered, and they stood exposed as cheats, what was Elijah's course?

"Take the prophets of Baal," he thundered. "Let not one of them escape." And what did the people do? "They took them, and Elijah brought them down to the brook Kishon and slew them there."

It is a lesson in punishment that the United Nations will do well to bear in mind when they come to sit in judgment on Axis criminals. Indictment of the Master Murderers, the Little Hitlers, the Little Himmlers, and the quislings, will present no problem, for hosts of dead accuse them. But what of the prophets of Baal? Those others, no less guilty, against whom no major charge, subject to the death penalty, can be lodged? Such as Ribbentrop, for example, and Gayda, Papen, Farinacci, Haushofer, Ley, and Gross. When arraigned, all can plead that they have not tortured, burned, and ravaged, and if the strict letter of the criminal law is followed, may escape with minor penalties or none at all. Yet their tongues, pens, lies, and plots have killed as surely as guns, planes, tanks, and Gestapo bludgeons.

Take the case of Joachim von Ribbentrop. He may be an "ass in lion's skin", as Goering delights to sneer, but history will say that the strutting wine agent played a large part in plunging the world into total war. Back in the earlier years, the Fuehrer wanted friendly relations with Great Britain and France, for it was Russia that he feared and hated. Ribbentrop, more than any other, blocked those alliances, lying and plotting until he convinced Hitler that the "cowardly English" and the "decadent French" need not be considered in the Nazi scheme of things. The rape of Austria and Czechoslovakia, the invasion of Poland, all were urged by him that he might stride the European stage as a "second Bismarck".

The rise of Ribbentrop is even more fantastic than that of Goering the dope fiend, Daluge the street-cleaner, and Himmler the chicken-farmer. Everything about the man is *ersatz*. Under investigation, his "brilliant military record" in World War I is found to have been a desk job behind the lines. A wine agent after the armistice, his "successful business career" only began when his dance steps won the hand of a wealthy champagne merchant's headstrong daughter. As for noble blood, the von before his name comes from adoption by an aged spinster in 1925, Ribbentrop being twenty-eight years old at the time.

A phony to the core, but cunning and unscrupulous, Ribbentrop picked Hitler for a winner as early as 1930, and gave generously at a time when the Party stood most in need of funds. In 1933 he was rewarded by appointment to a bureau under Hitler's personal direction. The nature of the work throws light on both the master and the man. A year or two before, the Fuehrer had expressed himself to Dr. Rauschning in this fashion: "I am building up a great organization of my own. It costs a lot of money, but it gets things moving for me. I have drawn up a questionnaire covering details of the persons I am interested in. I am having a comprehensive card-index compiled of every influential person in the world. The cards contain every detail of importance. Will he take money? Can he be bought in any other way? Is he vain? Is he sexual? In what way? Is he homosexual? That is of the utmost value, because it provides close associations that can never be escaped from. Has he anything in his past to conceal? Can he be subjected to pressure?" That was Ribbentrop's job, and from his bureau spies, corruptionists, and perverts streamed forth into England, France, and every other country. Rotten himself, finding rotten spots came easy to him.

In 1936, judging it time to take personal charge of the "appeasement" programme in London, he asked and received appointment as ambassador to the Court of St. James's. Now, as if to compensate for years of servility, he

gave full rein to his arrogance. On the occasion of his first presentation to the King, Ribbentrop gave the Nazi salute and bellowed "Heil Hitler" at the top of his lungs. Taking over Carlton House as an embassy, he tried to make the historic mansion over into a German beer garden, but a storm of protest halted him. These insolences turned public opinion against him, but great lords and ladies continued to flock to his parties, nodding assent as he told of Germany's growing might and invincibility.

When Ribbentrop returned to Berlin in 1938 as Foreign Minister, what he had to tell fell like music on the Fuehrer's willing ears. Great Britain, "craven and unprepared", would stand for anything rather than fight. "Maggoty France" was beneath notice. Why wait? Go ahead with the annexation of Austria and then demand the Sudeten! When Chamberlain flew to Munich and bowed before Hitler's premeditated rages, what wonder that the Fuehrer threw his arms about *mein lieber Joachim*, and hailed him as "another Bismarck"!

With his own hand Ribbentrop signed peace pacts with London and Paris, but before the ink was dry, urged repudiation and betrayal. When the British and French refused to fight in defence of Czechoslovakia, just as he had prophesied, the *ersatz* Bismarck swelled to enormous proportions, and clamoured that Poland was ripe for picking. Goering, voicing the army's fear of a world war, cursed the wine agent as a mischief-making fool, but the Fuehrer frowned him down. Had his Joachim not called the bluff on England and France? Was he not right where all others were wrong? *Sieg Heil!*

One thing only held Hitler back—and that was Russia. But how simple, argued Ribbentrop. A pact with Stalin! Not permanent, of course. Just a temporary expedient until such time as it suited Germany to break faith. And when he returned from Moscow in August, 1939, bearing a treaty of friendship duly signed and sealed, not even Goering dared question the miracle-man's true greatness. England and France, to be sure, did declare war in Poland's behalf, but the Fuehrer, victory drunk, looked on it as a favour.

A thief, like every other Nazi, Ribbentrop is now a millionaire. One by one, he has taken over the businesses of his competitors in the wine business, and his "ancestral" castle in Austria was stolen from Fritz Thyssen's nephew. Not only was the owner murdered, but his wife and little son were driven out into the night when lordly Joachim took possession to entertain Pavelich, the Croat terrorist.

Is such a man to go free on the plea that he himself has killed no man, raped no woman, and brained no little child?

And what of Virginio Gayda, Italy's Goebbels? As editor of the *Giornale d'Italia* he was over Mussolini's mouthpiece, and more than any other rammed the doctrines of Fascism down the throats of the people. Able and plausible, he was a genius at giving lies the appearance of truth, even persuading Italians that the other nations of the world hated them and planned their ruin.

Then, too, there is Roberto Farinacci, labelled by American correspondents as "Fascismo's hell-hound". Long the Secretary of the Party, he sounded the signal for all the ugly violences that shook the nation, carrying out Mussolini's commands and at the same time relieving Il Duce of responsibility for them. It was Farinacci's gangsters who "castor-oiled" political opponents, and Farinacci who preached anti-clericalism and anti-Semitism, even going so far as to shout that President Roosevelt was "the Pope of World Jewry and Freemasonry".

Lieut.-General Achille Starace is still another to be remembered. Despite his title, no battlefield ever saw him, for it was his job to turn the children of Italy into Fascists and blind believers in Il Duce. Forming an organization called *Sons of the Wolf*—it was a wolf that was supposed to have suckled

Romulus and Remus—he took youngsters from their parents, and taught them that the State and Mussolini meant more than home, family, and religion.

A perfect example of a prophet of Baal, however, is furnished by Robert Ley. Once the drunken, dissolute publisher of a gossip-sheet in Cologne, picking up a precarious living by blackmail, he is to-day the head of Germany's so-called Labour Front with power of life and death over every worker in the Reich. Ranking fifth in the Nazi hierarchy, the erstwhile keyhole-peeper is topped only by Goering, Himmler, and Goebbels. More than twenty-five million men and women sweat under his iron rule, as much slaves as though they wore chains, and forced contributions reduce their beggarly wages to a starvation level.

The monthly "take" from the Labour Front is conservatively estimated at £18,750,000, and while some of it goes to finance Strength-Through-Joy projects, the larger part sticks to the fingers of Ley and other Nazi high-ups. It is not only "dues" that have to be paid, but each worker is mulcted regularly for the upkeep of the Winter Relief Fund, the Organization to Combat Want, and similar schemes designed to rob the German pocket of every possible *pfennig*.

When Hitler ordered the dissolution of all unions, and an end to unionism itself, workers were told that it meant freedom, security, and dignity. Ley, an expert in spying and extortion, soon taught them the facts of life as lived under the New Order, for one of his first acts was to take over the Bank of German Workers and Employees, confiscating deposits. The funds provided for old-age pensions and sick insurance were swept into the treasury, and each individual union was looted to the last penny. Hours were lengthened, wages lowered, and a system of espionage, operated by Ley's own private Gestapo, watched both factories and homes to see that none of his drudges shirked or murmured.

Ley's shameless swindles would have earned him a prison term in any other country. Shortly before the war, he announced that plans had been perfected for the manufacture of a *Volkswagen*, a People's Car, to be sold at so low a price that even the humblest citizen might have his own automobile. Every worker was ordered to subscribe for a *Volkswagen*, paying weekly instalments under pledge that it would be delivered at some not-too-distant date. Millions were collected, and that was the end of the People's Car. Not one was ever made, and the troublesome few who asked questions were quickly clubbed into silence.

After a twelve-hour day, workers are driven like cattle to mass meetings, for Ley is second to none in his love for the Reich and his devotion to the Fuehrer. Muddled, staggering, thick-tongued, for he is always half-seas-over, the master of the Labour Front rants for hours at a time, and woe to the unhappy wretch who does not "heil" enthusiastically and at the top of his voice. A doctor's certificate is the only excuse for failure to attend these nightly meetings, and heavy fines and clubbings are the punishment for trying to escape Ley's drunken ramblings.

A confirmed boozier, Ley's maudlin sentimentalities are worse than his brutalities. Every day a bunch of wilted flowers is placed on a stand in each shop—Strength Through Beauty—and any malcontent who is not properly impressed runs the risk of a heavy fine. *Kraft durch Freude*—Strength through Joy—was another of Ley's conceptions. Seaside resort hotels, taken over from the owners, were turned into "week-end rest houses" for German workers, and one huge hostelry, able to accommodate twenty-five thousand, was built on the Baltic coast. Two large ships for cheap cruises were also put at the disposal of the Labour Front, and cut-rate tickets at theatres and cinemas were another proof of the Fuehrer's solicitude for the happiness of the working class.

Fine on its face, but like every other Nazi project, a swindle in practice.

It soon developed that the "restful vacations" were really school periods for Hitler Youth, where they were taught that they owed their parents nothing, and military and gymnastic drill periods for the elders. Workers returned from these "happy week-ends" more dead than alive, and Goering, responsible for production, profanely called on Ley to pipe down on Strength Through Joy. Soon the ships were handed over to the navy, and the hotels and pleasure resorts fell into the possession of Nazi leaders who now operate them for private profit.

A foul creature! Maybe he has not taken life, but his swindles and extortions, his organized and systematic enslavement have driven helpless millions down to an animal level.

Few people, outside of Germany, have ever heard of Karl Haushofer, and yet this stoop-shouldered Munich professor is, and has been, the motive force behind Adolf Hitler. Back in the early 'twenties, and at a time when the Nazi Party was nothing more than a bunch of rowdies, Professor Haushofer set himself to the task of planning how Germany could recover from defeat, and make the dream of world dominion come true. Out of his brooding came the theory of Living Space, and a brand new science he called geopolitics. Rudolf Hess was one of Haushofer's pupils, and through Hess the professor reached Hitler and made him his instrument and his voice.

Frontiers, as Haushofer saw them, were not determined by geography but by armies. In no sense was *Lebensraum* merely a place large enough for a people to live in, but a vast programme of expansion that would establish the Germans as a Master Race, removing all bounds to the spread of German *Kultur*. Unlike geographers, Professor Haushofer did not see the earth as earth, but as a battlefield. Rivers and seas were lines of communication, islands were air and naval bases, natural resources were considered only as military supplies, and men were not viewed as human beings but only as "cannon fodder" or workers in war factories.

At the heart of his concept was a World Island. Europe and Africa were to be put together by great bridges or tunnels at Gibraltar and Messina. Germany, by reason of her strategic position at the heart of this mighty land mass, would rule the World Island as a matter of course, and as an inevitable consequence would lord it over the whole of earth. Even the Western Hemisphere would be compelled to submit to vassalage, for no real resistance could be offered by South or Central America while the United States was not a true nation, but a mixture of "mongtelized, loosely-linked provinces".

Open war, according to Haushofer's plans, was to be avoided at first. Adjoining countries—Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria—were to be brought under German domination by economic penetration and political skulduggeries. Italy and France were to be cajoled with offers of partnership as a prelude to eventual occupation, and all effort concentrated on preparations for the inevitable war with England. After victory, and not until then, the conquest of Russia could be undertaken.

Only Hitler's "intuitions", born of his arrogance and conceit, prevented Haushofer's plans from being crowned with success. Drunk with power after the absorption of Austria and Czechoslovakia, the Fuehrer accepted Ribbentrop's assurances that Great Britain and France would not fight, and launched his drive against Poland. Greatest stupidity of all, he broke his pact of friendship with Russia, thus forcing him to fight a war on two fronts. Well might the professor have cursed his pupil for a *Dummkopf* (blockhead)!

Like Ribbentrop, Franz von Papen is "an ass in lion's skin", but he, too, will go down in history as one who had no small responsibility for the Second World War. Particularly is it his crime that he paved the way for Adolf Hitler's rise to rulership. At a time when the psychopathic Austrian was sinking out of public view, the German restored him to power, thinking to use him as a

tool. A master traitor, false to the core, it is such blunders that have kept Papen from being one of the world's most deadly, dangerous men.

Germany's military attaché in Washington at the outbreak of war in 1914, Papen employed and directed the saboteurs who bombed, killed, and burned in an effort to prevent shipment of arms and munitions to the Allies. Uncovered at last, it was found that the fool had carefully preserved his cancelled cheques, likewise the names and addresses of his agents. Even the key to the German code was left in the drawer of an unlocked desk, letting the "idiotic Yankees" read his reports to Berlin.

After the armistice, Papen emerged from obscurity as a principal figure in plots against the struggling German republic. After the assassination of Erzberger and Rathenau, and the overthrow of Heinrich Brüning, the army put Papen in as chancellor. Before the chair was warm, he began double-crossing both Hindenburg, who trusted him, and the military clique that backed him. Blundering as always, his treacheries were soon laid bare, and all joined in giving him the boot.

Now was the stage set for his prize blunder. Establishing contact with the Nazis, he rescued Hitler from the junk pile, and engineered the coup that made him chancellor in place of General von Schleicher—all under a secret agreement, of course, that Adolf was to be a puppet and Franz the power. It was the one big laugh in the whole German tragedy, for Hitler quickly made Papen the puppet. But still scheming, the Fox induced the senile Hindenburg to draw up a will naming him as successor to the presidency. An ace in the hole, but Franz was ass enough to babble about it. On the day of Hindenburg's death, Hitler simply surrounded the house, destroyed the will and made another in *his own favour*.

Undiscouraged, Papen returned to his plots, but once again Hitler beat him to the punch. The Blood Purge of 1934 came close to ending Papen. Goering and Himmler meant to kill him, but the Fuchrer stayed their hands, and the Fox escaped with no larger damage than the loss of his teeth. In his business, Hitler needed a man with a gift for treachery. And who would serve his purpose better than Franz von Papen, the suave, the plausible, and so much the high-born German gentleman? Particularly with a Himmler to watch him!

On his faith as a German of noble blood and a devout Catholic, Papen assured the Pope that the Reich would stop its mass murders and persecutions, and he secured the Vatican's consent to a Concordat. As Ambassador to Vienna, Papen persuaded Schuschnigg that Germany had no designs on Austria, and he plotted in secret with Seyss-Inquart for the betrayal of his country. As Ambassador to Turkey, Papen laid the groundwork for the Soviet-German pact, and he bribed and lied in desperate efforts to win the Turks. A lackey now, this man who dreamed of ruling Germany, but as dangerous as a coiled snake.

Are the prophets of Baal to go free, or will the United Nations have the courage to follow the example of Elijah the Tishbite? Much depends on the answer. To let the diplomats, scholars, civilian administrators, and writers escape punishment is to continue the sources of infection that have rotted the German nation and the German people.

One more prophet of Baal, and then this illustrative list is finished. Of all the lot, Otto Abetz is at once the most dangerous and the most despicable, for he specializes in the betrayal of friendships and high ideals. Blessed with an engaging personality, and seemingly the soul of honour and sincerity, behind his mask he is as cold as Ribbentrop and as unscrupulous as Papen. When history comes to be written, it will be found that Otto Abetz was as much responsible for the collapse of France as the planes and Panzer divisions of the German armies.

An ardent Nazi from the very beginning, Abetz first came into prominence

as the head of a movement to bring the youth of France and Germany into "closer and understanding relations". Plentifully supplied with funds, he dashed back and forth between the two countries, preaching the beauty and necessity of young people banding together in order to repair the blunders of their stupid elders. Hundreds of French boys and girls were brought to Germany, and hundreds of German youngsters were sent to France. "Burn ancient hates in the sacred fire of friendship," chanted Abetz, his frank, open face mirroring every noble emotion.

The French groups, of course, saw only the museums, art galleries, and concert halls of Germany, while every young German made it his business to ferret out every possible fact in connection with France's production and defence. More than this, all were skilled propagandists, and both in private conversation and public meetings bemoaned the fact that France poured millions into armaments and fortifications instead of using them for the betterment of the people.

In 1935, Abetz took up his residence in Paris, and although his official status was never made quite clear, not even the Ambassador had more money at his disposal. It has since been estimated that his allowance was three hundred and fifty thousand francs a month. A leader in the Men of Good Will, Abetz toured from city to city, speaking before civic bodies, cultural clubs and colleges, attacking warmongers, extolling pacifism, and calling on all true Frenchmen to beat swords into ploughshares. It was no mere coincidence that a wave of strikes followed every one of these public appearances.

The "intellectuals" of France, as well as the workers, were honoured with Abetz's affectionate interest. Did some young writer have an anti-war book? Then Abetz supplied the money for its publication. Was some little opposition paper in need of funds? Then kind Herr Abetz came forward with an advertising contract that put the sheet on firm ground financially. Senators and deputies, no less than authors and publicists, found Abetz a ready and generous lender, for were they not all Men of Good Will, bound together by vows of fraternity and loyalty?

As the war clouds gathered in 1939, peace-loving Otto Abetz redoubled his insistence that it was in the power of France to avert catastrophe by holding to a pacific course, and avoiding any appearance of preparedness. In company with other Good Willers, he rushed from meeting to meeting, oozing assurances that Germany did not want war, and could be won to some amicable agreement by argument and persuasion. Imagine, then, the consternation of the "intellectuals" when the French secret police suddenly came forward with proof that Herr Abetz was, and had been, the trusted emissary of Hitler and Himmler, employed for no other purpose than the corruption of French opinion and the sabotage of France's defence efforts! In July, therefore, as political, literary, and social circles sat sick and stunned, Otto Abetz was kicked back to Germany as a liar, a cheat, and saboteur.

One year later, however, when the Germans marched into Paris, who walked with the generals but Herr Abetz, now richly impressive in the uniform of an ambassador. A conqueror, but still at heart a Man of Good Will! Establishing quick contact with all of his old friends, he bemoaned the failure of his peace efforts, and begged them to believe that he had returned to France in the hope of an accord that would bring victors and vanquished together as friends and co-workers in the New Order. Incredibly enough, he found willing ears for his poison, and many sincerely patriotic Frenchmen were induced to support Pétain and his Vichy government. In time, of course, these foolish ones were undeceived, but too late for any salvation.

What went on in ravished France must have had the approval of Otto Abetz or merciless cruelties would not have been permitted. As Germany's

ambassador, the personal representative of Adolf Hitler, it was in his power to call a halt on the shooting of hostages, the massacre of Jews and liberals, and the wholesale deportation of workers to the Reich. What more clear than that he was the force behind sadistic General Stuelpnagel and Pierre Laval, urging them on to greater infamies? Evil enough in itself, but made odious by his continual masquerade as a Man of Good Will.

CHAPTER VII

THE QUISLINGS

ADOLF HITLER MAY have been born in Austria, but in one respect, at least, he is essentially German. That is his utter inability to understand the mental and emotional processes of other people. As a consequence, what the Fuehrer counted on as a source of strength has turned out to be a fatal weakness. In every country marked down for conquest, the Master Corruptionist was able to buy up rotten souls—men willing to betray their people for money or preferment—but these abominable treacheries, without exception, have only stirred deeper fury and more determined resistance. The Moscow Conference gave solemn pledge that all quislings will be turned back to the countries they betrayed, and if so, punishment is bound to be swift and sure. To assure fulfilment of the promise, and to guard against the sentimentalists who will be crying "Forgive and forget", it is well to run over the list of Judases, particularizing their treacheries.

First, of course, comes Vidkun Quisling, the man whose name has been incorporated into all languages as a synonym for treason. Strangely enough, it is not that the creature has been a monster of cruelty, visiting his homeland with fire and sword. Murder, torture and pillage is the business of *Reichs-kommissar* Josef Terboven, the real ruler of captive Norway. The implacable hatred that Norwegians hold for Quisling proceeds from the fact that he has shamed them as a race, dragging national pride through every wallow of humiliation. Worse than his treachery are the poltrooneries, insane terrors and incompetences that earn contempt even from his German masters. Norsemen could have stood it better had the evil of the man been backed by some showing of courage and capacity.

Incredible as it may seem to-day, Quisling's career held high promise at the start. Brilliant, although neurotic, he entered the army in 1911, rose to be captain and served with Fridtjof Nansen's famine relief organization in Russia during the early 1920's. Eventually there were whispers about misused funds, also a scandal in connection with the sale of old masters entrusted to him by White Russians, and the military authorities asked for his resignation.

An embittered, enraged man, Quisling joined one abortive political movement after another, but it was not until 1931 that he managed to pick a winner. Getting on the bandwagon of the Farmers' Party, he had himself named Minister of Defence, where he lasted exactly two months, such was his proved venality and incompetence. Nothing more was heard of him until 1935, when he came back from Germany with money enough to start a newspaper, also a party called National Union, patterned after the Nazis. Another failure, for in spite of lavish expenditure, National Union polled less than 2 per cent of the vote. Realizing the hopelessness of open activities, Quisling went

underground, and the Norwegians now have complete proof that he betrayed secrets of national defence, and made all arrangements for the landing of saboteurs and secret agents. Not until the Germans struck did Quisling come to the surface, and then it was to "dethrone the King" and proclaim himself Fuehrer.

His "rule" lasted less than a week, for such was Norway's passion for revolt that the Germans had to kick him out. Josef Terboven took over, bringing ten thousand Gestapo agents with him from the Reich, and for the next two years Quisling operated merely as a petty gangster. Confiscating a mansion, he filled it with loot, and still calling himself Fuehrer, he recruited several hundred criminals and defectives for the organization of a Storm Troop. All of which merely gave the Germans more work, for Quisling had to be guarded both day and night. Even his troopers could not appear in public without the protection of German bayonets.

His restoration to power was ordered by Hitler as a last desperate effort to crush Norway's spirit. Since the stupid people persisted in rejecting the New Order, then ram Quisling down their throats! Put over them the man most loathed! A gesture, of course, for all power remained in the hands of Terboven.

February 1, 1942, was the day appointed for Quisling's induction into office as Prime Minister. Falkenhoist brought one hundred thousand soldiers into Oslo for the occasion, and the Gestapo patrolled every house-top. There was no need, for in obedience to the "underground's" command, not a Norwegian left his home. And that night, as Quisling rose to announce that Norway was now part of the "greater Germanic international fellowship", saboteurs blew up the power plant, leaving the city in darkness. But not for long. Light was soon provided by the flames from Oslo's railroad stations.

Norwegians massed instantly to make a farce of Quisling's "iron hand". When he ordered Nazi doctrines as part of public instruction fourteen thousand teachers resigned. Quisling answered the defiance by sobs and whines, and on Terboven fell the job of torturing and killing. Another edict that fell flat commanded every Norse youngster to enroll in an imitation of Hitler's Youth Movement. Seven bishops and one thousand pastors straightway severed all connection with the government; and Quisling cried out against one of the bishops as a triple traitor who deserved to have his head cut off. "Well, here I am," returned the prelate, and the Minister President ran from the room, screaming that everybody was in a conspiracy against him. Again Terboven had to take over the business of punishment, cursing Quisling as a blundering, hysterical coward.

To-day the traitor lives behind locked doors for the most part, finding solace in drugs. He goes to and from the palace surrounded by soldiers, a shambling, baggy-eyed man in fear of his life. All of the houses near his seaside villa have been emptied of occupants, and when he bathes, a mile of beach is roped off.

As in the case of Norway's Quisling, the Czechoslovaks hate Karl Hermann Frank more than any German because he is of their blood, and the nation's shame. A bankrupt bookseller in Carlsbad, he took Hitler's bribes at an early date, and in company with Konrad Henlein, organized fifth-column activities. When the Nazis crossed the border, Frank boasted that he would rule the people he had betrayed, but only the office of Secretary of State was given him. Baron Constantin von Neurath, however, the first Protector of Bohemia and Moravia, soon showed that he had small stomach for brutal measures, and under orders from Berlin, Frank was handed the job of breaking Czech resistance.

His first steps in "pacification" were marked by an energy and thoroughness that won the commendation of Heinrich Himmler. Some twelve thousand

leaders of public opinion were arrested and more than four hundred thousand men and women were sent to labour camps in the Reich. The Czech language was outlawed; and not content with the seizure of estates and business properties, Frank expelled the inhabitants of forty-two villages with nothing but what they could carry in their hands, and turned their homes over to German immigrants. Of the three hundred and fifty-six thousand Jews in the republic, great numbers were killed, and the others herded into concentration camps, where identification cards were taken away, leaving them to slave and die without even the comfort of a name.

Adopting paganism, and noisily dedicating himself to the worship of Thor and Wotan, Frank set out to "cure the rot of Christianity". Close on five hundred priests were jailed, and for daring to protest, a venerable bishop was killed and the mayor of Kladno thrown out of a window to his death. Enraged by the Czech government's broadcasts from London, Frank decreed the death penalty for anyone caught listening, and followed this up by imprisoning the kin and friends of the exiles. "In order to gag the babbling mouths of these gentlemen," he announced, "we have taken the relations of these gossipers, who are so heedless of their own fellow nationals, into custody, and have removed them to an interment camp. Now we shall see whether their stupid talk will cease. Should they continue to agitate, then we shall be compelled to proceed against the arrested persons."

The hate and malice of the bankrupt bookseller found fullest expression in November, 1939. Hundreds of students, gathered to celebrate the birthday of King Wenceslaus, were attacked by the police, and one, Jan Optelal, was so terribly beaten that he died of his injuries. Benevolently enough, Frank gave permission for a public funeral, but when the procession formed, drove through it with his car, followed by his police with drawn revolvers. More than two hundred and fifty youngsters were shot down, and a full four thousand arrested and sent either to the labour camps of Silesia or the salt mines of Poland. The universities were closed as a further punishment, and while Baron von Neurath mumbled that it would be only for three years, Frank retorted that not one would reopen as long as he and the Germans were lords and masters of Czechoslovakia.

All to no avail. More and more German soldiers were killed, more and more factories blown up or burned down, and increasing sabotage cut production both industrial and agricultural, by a third. From Germany, in 1941, came Heinrich Himmler himself, and after looking over the situation, he dismissed Baron von Neurath as an incompetent, and took power away from Frank as a bungler, a dolt who had butchered without intelligence. To Czechoslovakia he sent Heydrich, his right-hand man in the Gestapo, and when Heydrich was assassinated, replaced him with Kurt Daluege, another of his prize pupils.

Karl Hermann Frank's last public appearance was in October, 1942, when he presided at the elaborate ceremonies that changed the name of the beautiful Masaryk Embankment in Prague. "The fairest bank of the German river of this city at the foot of the old imperial castle," said the traitor, "with its unique view up to the walls of the place in which German emperors and the Fuehrer of the new Reich fashioned the Reich's history, bears from now on the name Reinhard Heydrich Embankment."

Another quising to shame the republic founded by Masaryk is Josef Tiso. He may be a traitor, false alike to his country and his God, but the bullet-headed President of the puppet state of Slovakia is far from being a fool. Now that the tide of battle has turned against the Reich, with the Allies pledged to the punishment of all war criminals, Tiso has put by his oppressions and persecutions and begs his victims to believe that he was at all times the unwilling and unhappy tool of Nazi masters. His new Council contains only one

Hitlerite, and is made up for the most part of patriots who have denounced him for his cruelties and treacheries.

Fortunately there need be no fear that these fawning gestures will save his skin, for neither are the people fools. Not a man or woman but knows that Josef Tiso played a principal part in the betrayal of the Czechoslovak Republic, and with their own eyes have watched him plunge his country into ruin at Hitler's bidding. The youth of Slovakia seized and marched off to cold and hunger and death in Russia; seventy thousand Jews herded into concentration camps or else handed over to Himmler for torture; priests, pastors and liberals imprisoned; the wholesale confiscation of grain and produce, leaving the population to starve; the ruthless suppression of free speech, free Press and free assemblage—all these are things that have burned themselves into the memory of every Slovak.

In nothing is the character of Josef Tiso more clearly revealed than that he turned away from the chance to become a great leader in a great democratic movement, and deliberately chose the path of treachery and reaction. Thomas Garrigue Masaryk, out of his passionate desire for national unity, gave the Slovak parish priest a place in his Cabinet along with Monseigneur Jan Sramek, another Catholic leader. Monseigneur Sramek has never failed in honour and loyalty and is to-day the Premier of the Czechoslovak government-in-exile, but Tiso planned to betray from the very first. When his bosom friend, Bela Tuka, was convicted in 1928 of treasonable plots against the republic, Tiso himself only escaped by President Masaryk's mistaken leniency.

Still scheming, but less boldly, it was not until the Munich pact that Tiso came out into the open. On the day that the Germans marched into the Sudeten, and while Nazis were throwing priests from the windows of the Bishop's palace in Vienna, he served an ultimatum on Prague demanding complete autonomy for Slovakia, although still protesting loyalty to the republic. In March, 1939, he deemed it safe to throw off his mask, but his *putsch* was quickly put down by loyal troops, and Tiso placed under guard in a Jesuit monastery. Straightway Hitler demanded his release, and Tiso, brought to Berlin, sat in with the Fuehrer, Goering, and Ribbentrop on the last act of the Czechoslovak tragedy. On the instant that poor Hacha, third-degreed to the point of collapse, signed the documents that gave Slovakia full independence, and accepted a Nazi protectorate for Bohemia and Moravia, Tiso returned home at the head of Storm Troopers, and took over as head of a totalitarian state. A first act was to make Bela Tuka his Prime Minister, and Alexander Mach, a notorious hatchet-man, his Minister of the Interior.

What followed was strictly according to the Nazi pattern. Persecution of the Jews and the imprisonment of every democratic voice; the creation of an Iron Guard to shoot down strikers and saboteurs; the Germanization of the school system; the expropriation of property, the confiscation of grain and foodstuffs, and the despatch of Slovak youth to the Russian front. From Rome came the thunders of the Holy Father, denouncing these outrages, but Tiso paid no heed to the voice of the Pope. Nor was he moved to mercy by a pastoral letter from the Bishops, bitter in its accusations of lawlessness and inhumanity. On the contrary, he arrested priests for daring to read it from their pulpits, and proceeded no less harshly against Protestant ministers who cried out against his brutalities.

Now, however, Josef Tiso is singing a different tune. The collapse of the German drive in Russia, the steady advance of the Allied troops in Italy, the aerial bombardment of the Reich, the daily increase in sabotage and open revolt, all have combined to bring out a large and very vivid yellow streak, and where recently he bellowed his cruel orders with all the relish of a Mussolini, his voice now has the coo of a dove. "Forgive and forget." That's all he

wants, and Slovaks count the days, even the minutes, until they can give him his answer.

Konrad Henlein, less brutal than Frank, less base than Tiso, is important only as presenting a clearer picture of the manner in which a country can be betrayed by enemies within. According to his own confession, Henlein went on Hitler's pay-roll in 1933, employed to incite revolt in the Sudeten, a border area where the majority were of German descent. A shabby enterprise in the beginning, with small promise of success. Henlein, an athletic instructor in Asch at the time, was generally regarded as a bumptious, strutting agitator, and the Sudeten Germans had no quarrel with conditions. Their representatives sat in parliament and the cabinet, and the German language was allowed in both schools and courts.

Henlein, however, had the Nazi treasury at his back, and soon purchased a following of gangsters, malcontents and political failures. Mass meetings were organized that protested against "Czech tyranny", and his subsidized newspapers magnified every petty grievance into an "outrage". Prejudices were played upon, old hates revived, and Jew-baiting, murder and arson turned peaceful communities into bedlams. Germans refusing to take the Nazi oath were beaten to death or had their stores burned, Henlein indignantly bellowing that it was the work of Czech terrorists.

The venal were bribed, the ambitious promised high office, and the timorous kicked and clubbed. Under threat of bombing, factories shut down, thousands were unemployed, and Henlein hailed it as proof that the Czech Government planned to destroy German industry. All the while, through every secret channel, went the whisper that Hitler's armies were on the march, coming to make the Sudeten a "paradise for Nazis" and a hell for non-believers.

From first to last, Henlein let no day pass without protesting loyalty to the Czechoslovak state. That he was a Nazi or had any connection with the Nazis was a cruel lie. Not in all the republic was there a man more in love with democracy than Konrad Henlein. Lying at home, he also lied abroad, for not the least of his job was to keep the British from suspecting Hitler's purpose.

In the course of repeated visits to London he assured Prime Minister Chamberlain that he wanted nothing but "justice for an oppressed minority", specifically disavowing any thought of an *Anschluss*. Not till 8th September, 1938, when Germany was ready to strike, did Henlein come out into the open, bawling for "one Reich, one Fuehrer", and bragging how he had tricked the stupid Czechs and the thick-headed Englishers.

September 30th, when he watched the signing of the Munich pact, was Henlein's one and only Great Moment. Instead of being made Protector of Bohemia and Moravia, as he had hoped, the post went to a German, and Karl Hermann Frank, the sly, ferocious Carlsbad bookseller, was named Secretary of State. All that fell to Henlein was limited rule over *part* of the Sudeten, not the whole, with Himmler's Gestapo watching every move. A Judas—not even paid his thirty pieces of silver! There, in that obscure post, he cowers to-day, deflated, despised and craven, as much in terror of the Sudeten Germans whom he swindled as of the Czechs whom he betrayed.

There was no guesswork about the Nazi invasion of Holland. Traitors gave the Germans full information as to the defence preparations of the Dutch, telling them where to cross the border and even directing the bombers that rained destruction from the skies. Foremost of the Judases was Anton Mussert, and while anguished men and women searched in ruined homes for their dead, the shameless wretch bounded forward to proclaim himself "Fuehrer of the Netherlands".

Of all the quislings, Mussert is, by far and away, the most incredible. A

dwarf, standing four-feet-ten, he copies the struts and poses of the Fuehrer and Il Duce, adding Napoleonic flourishes for good measure, and is only saved from absurdity by a deadly, terrifying malignance. Personally, enthusiastically, he spies with all the cunning of a Himmler and counts the day lost that does not see its quota of Dutch patriots put before a firing squad.

According to his biographers, Mussert was a treacherous, venomous boy, and in later life, as a civil engineer in government employ, a sneaky, trouble-making egomaniac. Not until 1931 did he rise above obscurity, then suddenly emerging as the founder of a Dutch Nationalist Socialist Party, a copy of the Nazi organization in detail, even down to salute, swastika and Jew-baiting. Supplied with Nazi funds, as were fifth columnists in other countries, he bought a newspaper, hired armed guards, and offered himself at the polls, adopting "Mussert or Moscow" as his slogan.

Always tolerant, and refusing to believe that one so utterly grotesque could prove a danger, the Dutch government put up with his antics for several years. Not until 1934, when his Nazi affiliations were notorious, was Mussert dismissed for "pernicious political activity and treachery to the state". Failure to shoot him was a sentimentality that cost the Dutch their country and thousands of innocent lives, for the dwarf, going underground, set industriously about the work of betraying his country to the Germans.

Spying, bribing and pilfering, Mussert found out many vital facts in connection with the national defence and forwarded them to Berlin. And when Hitler's armies poured across the Dutch border on 10th May, 1940, their task was made easier by the co-operation of Mussert and his saboteurs.

As Fuehrer of the Netherlands people, the poisonous little gnome has no real power, for all authority rests in the hands of Arthur Seyss-Inquart, the Austrian Judas whom Hitler dared not keep in Vienna. Mussert, however, has free use of his eyes, ears and tongue, and not a home in Holland is safe from his hate and malevolence. As if holding a whole people responsible for his mental and physical deformities, he is not happy unless hunting and killing.

A far different type is Meinoud Rost van Tonningen, Mussert's partner in treachery. Banker and editor, his people had honoured him by election to the Senate, but out of avarice and ambition he was among the first to plot their betrayal. What Rost van Tonningen asked as his reward was to be made Secretary-General of Finance and President of the Netherlands Bank, two positions that put every Dutch throat in the clutch of his cruel fingers. Mussert murders; but the vulpine banker, through his control of all credit institutions, crushes through the subtler methods of impoverishment and transplantation. Cunningly, ruthlessly, he has confiscated savings, robbing the aged of the guilders put by for their declining years, and as a companion measure, takes the young from field and factory, sending them as slave labour into the Reich.

At first Rost van Tonningen tried persuasive hypocrisies, proclaiming the superior value of Nazi securities, but when the stubborn Dutch refused to turn their good guilders into German marks, he took off the velvet glove. Owners of stocks were ordered either to sell their holdings at forced sale or to turn them over to the Netherlands Bank. In both cases, of course, the prices paid were a fraction of the real worth, and even then the proceeds were kept under the control of the bank. This process of plain, bold theft well under way, the Weaving Spider now turned attention to an even more devilish plan for Nazifying his prostrate motherland.

Through the formation of a Netherlands East Company, he set about the colonization of conquered areas in Russia by "Dutch settlers". Not only workers, but in his own words, "traders, large and small firms, peasants and villagers, including teachers and pastors", all to be taken out of Holland and "moved bodily" to the Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia and White Ruthenia. A vast

transfer of industry, agriculture and man-power, a monstrous policy of expropriation and slavery unparalleled in the annals of civilization. Small wonder that Hitler turned away from bungling, bloodthirsty little Mussert, and hailed Rost van Tonningen as Holland's Number One Quisling. Not only would the transplantation of a large part of the population lessen the dangers of sabotage and revolt, but the sweating labour of Dutch merchants, craftsmen, farmers and artisans would permit full development of the rich Black Earth region taken from Russia.

It is this atrocious programme that was begun under the personal direction of the Secretary General of Finance. Industrialists with their plants, pastors and teachers with their congregations and pupils, farmers and workers with their families, physicians, engineers, mechanics, all were uprooted by brute force, herded into caravans by Storm Troopers, and driven off to drudge for foreign masters in a foreign land. Nor is this all of it. To the vacant farms, homes, plants and stores, Rost van Tonningen brought "colonists" from the Reich, good Nazis who could be counted on to make Holland a safe place for traitors and a pillar in the New Order. Even Genghis Khan was never guilty of any greater inhumanity.

In Belgium it is the name of Leon Marie Joseph Ignace Degrelle that steels the resolution of every man, woman, and child. What adds to the rage of Belgians is that they underestimated the menace of the slick-haired demagogue, letting him run free instead of being placed before a firing squad to pay the penalty for treason. Even when it became known that he was taking Nazi money and Hitler's orders, sapping the foundations of national unity, a tolerant people contented themselves with putting the traitor in prison when he should have been shot or hanged.

It must be admitted, however, that Degrelle was a good deal of a joke in the beginning. His first known activity, after being kicked out of the University of Louvain, was the sale of "miracles" to poor ignorant peasants. Fragments of the true Cross, bones of the saints and that sort of thing. The Catholic hierarchy soon branded him as a vulgar charlatan, and Degrelle prudently switched to other and safer kinds of petty swindling.

Handsome, plausible and glib, politics eventually appealed to him as a field for his talents, but repeated bids for office resulted in defeat. Nothing seemed more certain than that the "man with the electric voice" would remain a local windbag, but in 1935 Adolf Hitler began the development of fifth columns in other countries, and Leon Degrelle was his choice in Belgium. Starting a political movement that he called Christus Rex—Christ the King—the unscrupulous rascal quickly gained a following by his lurid warnings against "Unholy Russia". Cardinal Van Roey, to be sure, denounced him as a blasphemer, but Degrelle simply changed the name to Rexists, and went on with his campaign.

In every country there are racial, religious and class prejudices that can be played on, and with plenty of Nazi funds to spend, the Rexists turned Belgium into a bedlam. Inflaming hates and discontents, bribing and lying, Degrelle gained political strength to a point where Premier Paul Van Zeeland felt the necessity of taking the field against him. A bitter campaign exposed the traitor's intrigues and German affiliations, and in the election the Rexists polled only 69,000 votes against 276,000. Admittedly a Nazi tool, Degrelle should have been tried for treason, but the Belgians, being a democratic people, shrank from such decisive action.

This was a criminal blunder, for in 1938 the Rexist leader attempted a *putsch* under orders from Berlin. Assembling an "army" of petty criminals and professional malcontents, Degrelle started a march on Brussels, bellowing his intent to save Belgium from Bolshevism. The government put down the uprising easily enough and without much loss of life, but once again decided

against stern measures, merely putting the leader and some two hundred and fifty of his followers behind bars.

Notwithstanding these failures, Hitler still retained faith in the "man with the electric voice", and when the Germans marched into Brussels, one of their first acts was to release Degrelle and put him in as gauleiter of the captured country. A storm of protest greeted the appointment, and neither Nazi firing squads nor Brownshirt clubs could force the Belgians to accept the rule of one whom all despised. Sabotage and open revolt reached such proportions that General Alexander von Falkenhausen had to demand a change. "Degrelle," he reported, "is our worst enemy." Even the presence of the creature—the fact that he breathed Belgian air—proved such an irritant that he was asked to leave the country.

By way of saving his face, Degrelle announced that he had raised a Walloon regiment for service on the Russian front, and dashed off with a spectacular flourish somewhat marred by German grins and Belgian hoots. At last reports (and from Berlin, at that), the phony was buying wine and dancing with prostitutes in taverns far behind the fighting lines.

So much for the quislings! God may have mercy on them, not the peoples they betrayed.

CHAPTER VIII

THE LEIPZIG TRAVESTY

WITH CRIMES ESTABLISHED and criminals identified, stern and speedy punishment would seem to be inevitable. But will it? In World War I, no less than now, the Central Powers violated all of the decencies learned since mankind first rose above the beasts, and there was the same passionate insistence on judgment. Lloyd George, after the armistice, even campaigned successfully with "Hang the Kaiser" as a slogan, and was still in full cry when he reached Paris. And out of the world's full-throated indignation came only farcical proceedings that made a mock of justice. What happened well deserves to be put down in detail if another travesty is to be avoided.

A first act of the Preliminary Peace Conference was to set up an Inter-Allied Commission to study the mass of charges that had been filed, and these offences against "the laws and customs of war and the elementary laws of humanity" were duly cited: "Murders and massacres, tortures, shields of living human beings, collective penalties, the arrest and execution of hostages, the requisitioning of services for military purposes, the arbitrary destruction of public and private property, the aerial bombardment of open towns without there being any regular siege, the destruction of merchant ships without previous visit and without any precautions for the safety of passengers and crew, the massacre of prisoners, the poisoning of springs and of wells, outrages and profanations without regard for religion or the honour of the individuals," etc. etc.

The report recommended that all persons guilty of these acts should be brought to trial and punishment, whatever their rank or position, and specifically included "chiefs of state". As a consequence, Article 227 of the Treaty arraigned the ex-Kaiser "for a supreme offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties," and provided that he be tried by a special tribunal of

five judges appointed by the United States, Great Britain, France, Italy, and Japan. Article 228 stipulated that "the German Government recognizes the right of the Allied and Associated Powers to bring before military tribunals persons accused of having committed acts in violation of the laws and customs of war", and that "such persons shall, if found guilty, be sentenced to punishments laid down by law". Persons accused were to be handed over, and there was also provision that the German Government undertook "to furnish all documents and information of every kind" necessary for prosecution.

The German delegation protested against these articles; but the Allies, in their reply, refused to alter any word, and added these charges to the indictment already drawn: "Though Germany was herself a guarantor of Belgium, the rulers of Germany violated their solemn promise to respect the neutrality of this unoffending people. . . . They were the first to use poisonous gas, notwithstanding the appalling suffering it entailed. They began the bombing and long-distance shelling of towns for no military object, but solely for the purpose of reducing the morale of their opponents by striking at their women and children. They commenced the submarine campaign, with its piratical challenge to international law. . . . They drove thousands of men and women and children with brutal savagery into slavery in foreign lands. They allowed barbarities to be practised against their prisoners of war from which the most civilized people would have recoiled."

The German representatives signed on 28th June, 1919, but the Treaty itself did not become effective until 10th January, 1920, at which time the Allies attempted to act under its punitive clauses. As Wilhelm II had fled to Holland, a request was made for his extradition, but the Dutch Government refused on the ground that it knew of no statute covering any such crime as a "supreme offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties". The German people, supposedly happy at having been released from Hohenzollern rule, rejoiced over Holland's refusal, restored his fortune to the Kaiser, and made Doorn a place of reverent pilgrimage.

Defeated in the effort to judge the master criminal, the Allies then drew up a list of nine hundred known perpetrators of outrages against both The Hague conventions and statutory law, and asked their apprehension and surrender. Along with many subordinates, remembered for atrocious acts, the list included such notables as Hindenburg, Ludendorff, Admiral von Tirpitz, Admiral von Capelle, the Crown Prince of Bavaria, and the Duke of Württemberg. In each case the specific offence was duly alleged and supported by affidavits.

All through the long war years the Allies had been at pains to make a distinction between the German people and their rulers, but now, when these same rulers were to be judged, a whole people screamed their fury. The pathetic Weimar Republic, already marked for death, pleaded that the surrender of "national heroes" would mean revolution, and proposed as an alternative that the accused men be tried before the Supreme Court at Leipzig, pledging honest trials. Assent was given, for by this time England and France were more concerned with reparations than war criminals, and in the United States maudlin sentimentalists were loudly denouncing the "infamous Treaty of Versailles" and bemoaning the fate of "poor Germany".

Putting aside the list of nine hundred, the Allies picked out forty-nine cases as an experiment, and sent their legal representatives to Leipzig, accompanied by a host of witnesses gathered from every country at much trouble and expense. These representatives, however, were observers only, for both prosecution and defence were conducted throughout by German State Attorneys. Seven German judges constituted the Court, and the trials were held between 23rd May and 16th June, 1921. Of the forty-nine cases submitted, only twelve were tried, six British, five French, and one Belgian. The Belgians withdrew their mission after complete exoneration of the man accused by them; the

French mission quit after the trial of their fifth case; and the British went home in disgust after their sixth. The "Leipzig travesty", as it came to be called, was brought to the attention of the Supreme Council, but nothing was done about it, and the whole business quietly dropped out of sight, never to be revived.

Taking up the trials, one by one, the first man tried was Karl Heynen, a non-commissioned German officer in charge of two hundred and forty British prisoners of war forced to work in a Westphalia coal mine. When the prisoners, quite naturally, protested against this unlawful employment, Heynen had them cruelly beaten, and in several cases the bayonet was used. Even when the broken men entered the mine he did not abate his savagery, but subjected them to such continuous ill treatment that insanity resulted in one or two instances. Men bold enough to ask for hospital treatment were knocked down and kicked, or else put under an ice-cold shower for an hour or more.

The Court found that Heynen "was bound by the orders given to him to see that the work was done, and by those orders he was covered. . . . In so far as the accused employed force, or ordered it to be employed, in order to compel obedience to his orders, he has not acted contrary to law. . . . The accused committed no breach of the law when he used the butt end of the rifle against unruly prisoners". The Court, however, did find Heynen guilty on fifteen charges of brutality that were unconnected with any refusal to obey orders, and sentenced him to ten months' imprisonment.

The second case, also presented by the British, was that of Captain Emil Müller, accused of inhuman conduct in his administration of the prison camp at Flavy-de-Martel. Unlike Heynen, a distinctly low type, Müller was a man of education, having been a lawyer of some standing before his army service. Undisputed evidence proved that the camp was located in a marsh, and that the three large huts, "unfit for human habitation", were made to house one thousand prisoners, although the original estimate had been for three hundred. There were no floors, no bedding, and lack of toilets soon turned the congested area into a vast cesspool. The prisoners, both sick and well, were forced to work long hours either on railway construction or loading ammunition into trains, all admittedly against the rules of war.

According to the sworn testimony of men who had suffered at his hands, Müller was "half mad and degenerate". It was his daily habit to walk through the camp striking prisoners with his whip, and another pleasant practice was riding his horse through and over men at work. Innumerable instances were cited of men strung up by their thumbs or beaten into insensibility. Not the least of his degeneracies was to photograph prisoners as they stooped in latrines or in some other position that emphasized their degradation. Every witness bore testimony to Müller's abominable cruelties, and accused him of direct personal responsibility for the death of hundreds.

The Court not only refused to hold Müller blameable for the general conditions in the camp, but declared that "the zeal with which he carried out his duties deserves high praise". At the same time the learned judges ruled that Müller's conduct, in many instances, had been "unworthy of a human being", and found him guilty on charges of personal assault. However, "his excesses", they explained, "were only due to the military enthusiasm which worked him up to an exaggerated conception of military necessity and discipline", and the sentence imposed was two months' imprisonment.

The third case was that of Private Robert Neumann, also accused of brutality in his treatment of British prisoners of war. Like Müller, Neumann was a sadist, delighting in the infliction of pain, and witness after witness gave testimony as to the fiendishness with which he tortured the unhappy wretches in his power. Taking the stand in his own defence, Neumann not only admitted but actually gloried in his brutalities. What other way was there to handle the pig-dogs?

General Fransecky, appearing as a military expert, supported Neumann at every point, lauding him as "a pattern of a dutiful German soldier."

The Court agreed with this estimate, saying that "Neumann was the only sentry in camp, apart from Trienke, who appears to have known how to bring stubborn workers to heel." Proceeding in the same fashion, the judges ruled that "the complaints of the English prisoners that they were inhumanly and brutally ill-treated at the camp are unfounded, or at least exaggerated so far as they are directed at the accused. . . . Neumann was a conscientious soldier, determined to do his duty. He sometimes went too far in this determination to do his duty, but any tendency to be brutal was far from his nature". Nevertheless Neumann was found guilty on twelve out of seventeen charges of personal assault, but the Court hastened to add "that his offences must be regarded as comparatively light, especially when they were committed against prisoners who were refractory, and who were not willing to work". The sentence imposed was two months.

Lieutenant Captain Karl Neumann was next tried on the charge that he, "being in command of the UC 67, on the 26th day of May, 1917, off the North Coast of Africa, attacked, torpedoed, and sank without warning His Britannic Majesty's hospital ship, *Dover Castle*, well knowing her to be a hospital ship, in circumstances of extreme brutality, contrary to the law and usages of war, thereby causing the deaths of six of her crew."

Neumann admitted the charge, but justified himself by stating that he had acted under orders of the German Admiralty. The trial lasted only two hours, and the Court, in its opinion, ruled as follows: "It is a military principle that the subordinate is bound to obey the orders of his superiors. This duty is of considerable importance from the point of view of the criminal law. Its consequence is that, when the execution of a service order involves an offence against the criminal law, the superior giving the order is alone responsible. The Admiralty Staff was the highest authority over the accused. He was in duty bound to obey their orders in service matters. So far as he did that, he was free from criminal responsibility. Therefore he cannot be held responsible for sinking the hospital ship, *Dover Castle*, according to orders." Here, quite plainly, was an admission that the sinking of a hospital ship did "involve an offence against the criminal law", yet Admiral von Tirpitz, who gave the orders, was never brought to trial.

At this point in the proceedings, the British decided to suspend the presentation of their cases for a while, making no effort to conceal indignation, and the Belgians came forward. Max Ramdohr, head of the Military Police in Grammont, was accused of following up acts of sabotage by the wholesale arrest of little children, ill-treating and even torturing them in an effort to get confessions that would lead to the real saboteurs. Youngster after youngster, some not yet in their teens, took the stand and told of abominable cruelties at the hands of Ramdohr—dark cells, beatings, starvation, flourished revolvers, arm twisting, and ducking in buckets of water until they fainted. All of this testimony was swept aside by the Court in declaring Ramdohr innocent to the full extent of the charges brought against him. Here is an excerpt from the findings:

"At their youthful age they [the witnesses] are not sufficiently unbiased to realize that the accused merely fulfilled his duty when he zealously followed up the prosecution of a crime which had caused public danger. It has been unanimously stated by German witnesses, who had plenty of opportunities for observation, that at the examination during the war of these youthful Belgians there was frequently a strong inclination to tell fictitious tales and to exaggerate. . . . Children of so tender an age, even when not influenced by third parties, have often an extravagant imagination, which allows harmless incidents to grow into sensational events."

The fact that the children were put in dark, loathsome cells and kept half-

starved was not denied, but the Court held that "no kind of responsibility whatsoever rested on the accused . . . as these matters were not part of his duties." It was in accepting the testimony of character witnesses for Ramdohr, however, that the Court rose to heights of fawning unfairness. "A cruel ill-treatment of defenceless children," said the finding, "would show a particularly brutal disposition. The conduct of the accused was, however, according to official records, excellent. An altogether favourable, indeed a brilliant, testimonial to his character is given by persons who knew him and whose judgment carries weight. He is characterized as 'exceedingly correct', and 'unnaturally calm', as 'absolutely incorruptible', 'quiet and deliberate', and as a man of 'refined sentiments'."

Even so, the Court did hold that "a suspicion cannot be ignored that the accused, in his endeavour, commendable in itself, to carry out his instructions, employed measures which were legally forbidden". Nevertheless, no sentence was imposed. The Belgian Government protested the verdict, denouncing it as a travesty and withdrew its mission, stating that it did not intend to continue as a party to the "Leipzig farce".

Now came the turn of the French, and the first case presented was that of Lieut.-General Karl Stenger and Major Benno Crusius. The General was specifically accused of issuing an order to kill all prisoners and all wounded while Commander of the 58th Infantry Brigade in August, 1914. The crime of Major Crusius was in having passed the order on, and putting it into effect personally.

General Stenger, uniformed and covered with medals, entered the courtroom to the accompaniment of wild cheering both from the crowds outside and the men and women who packed the galleries. Neither he nor any other witness denied that prisoners and wounded had been shot, for the evidence was too overwhelming for dispute. Major Crusius stated explicitly that the order had been given by General Stenger in the early morning of the day following the battle of Saarbùrg. Kaup and Ernest, two German non-commissioned officers, admitted receiving the order and carrying it out, and Colour-Sergeant Florchinger told of hearing Major Müller give the word to shoot French wounded lying in a hollow. One Grienberger swore that a comrade, Jagler, shot down a wounded Frenchman as he begged for mercy, and one Klehe testified that he killed a wounded Frenchman under direct orders from Crusius and Müller. With high-piled evidence that scores of prisoners and wounded men had been shot, the Court gave up all attempt to disprove the charges, and decided to make Crusius and Muller the scapegoats. General Stenger, taking the stand, suavely explained that he had expressed himself "strongly, and perhaps excitedly", about shooting from the rear by wounded men, declaring that no mercy should be shown in such cases, but that was all.

The Court, proceeding to throw Crusius to the wolves, ruled that "only Major Müller and Major Crusius discovered in expressions of anger at the opponents' method of fighting . . . a brigade order. . . . An order of the nature maintained by Crusius would have been in absolute contradiction to the character of the accused Stenger". All blame was put on Crusius, but even in his case the Court was careful to provide an excuse. The brutal, cold-blooded killing of prisoners and wounded men on 21st August was explained away as due to "nervous troubles and intense excitement", and the murders that took place on 26th August were the result of "a state of complete mental derangement, excluding beyond any doubt all criminal responsibility". As a "madman" no sentence was passed upon him, but as a victim of "intense excitement" he was sentenced to two years in prison and deprivation of the right to wear an officer's uniform. "Homicide caused by negligence" was the crime of which they found him guilty.

The French, while bitter in their protests, did not withdraw from the pro-

ceedings, and the Court then called the case of First Lieutenant Adolph Laule, accused of deliberately murdering a French captain by the name of Migat. As in the trial of General Stenger, the State Attorney refused to prosecute, merely asking the judges to render a decision on the charges made by the French Government. According to these charges, head wounds prevented Migat from retreating with his contingent, and the Germans captured him in an inn where he was hiding, shooting him down a few minutes later.

At a preliminary hearing, several German witnesses testified that Lieutenant Laule had given the order, and that the Captain had been shot by a firing squad. Dr. Viktor Delunsch and Dr. Georg Müller were particularly explicit in their statements, but when called before the judges again, changed their stories in every important detail. The Court, without summoning a single French witness, ruled that Migat had been drunk at the time, although citing no evidence in support of this conclusion, and that he was killed by German soldiers "of their own accord" when he resisted capture. Laule was acquitted and his honour declared "untarnished".

The next case to be called at the instance of the French Government was that of Lieutenant-General Hans von Schack and Major-General Benno Kruska, charged with criminal responsibility for the death of three thousand prisoners of war in a camp that was under their direct control. For a third time the German State Attorney refused to prosecute, and even asked for an acquittal in presenting the case to the Court. Like General Stenger, the accused were uniformed and much bemedalled, and cheering thousands followed them to and from the court-house.

The accusations were based primarily upon the depositions of French prisoners of war, although two, Roulon and Paschali, gave evidence personally. According to detailed testimony, more than eighteen thousand prisoners were crowded into a camp built on marshy land, lacking proper shelter and sanitation, and treated with a cruelty and neglect that made the place a living hell. Over the protests of French doctors among the prisoners, several thousand Russians, known to be verminous, were brought into the camp, causing an outbreak of typhus that resulted in three thousand deaths, and put five thousand more at death's door. The German authorities, it was alleged, took no steps to check the spread of the epidemic, and Roulon swore that General Kruska even went so far as to declare publicly that "in order to wage war I needed neither guns nor rifles, but waged it in my own way."

For days the sick lay side by side with the dead, and when bodies were carried out, it was on table-tops, the foul boards then being returned for use at meals. Lack of toilets and food that was both bad and insufficient added to the horrors of the camp. Roulon and Paschali, in repeated and vehement statements, held General von Schack and General Kruska "directly responsible" for every evil condition, and charged them with "savagery and cruelty" in their personal relations to the prisoners.

The Court, in its findings, rejected all of the testimony offered by French witnesses, actually characterizing Roulon as a "humbug". True, dead and sick prisoners were left lying side by side, but that proved nothing against the accused. "General Kruska, owing to the vast extent of the camp, could not be everywhere." Putting lice-carrying Russians in with the other prisoners was a "serious matter", but "the responsibility for this, however, rests exclusively with the High Command of the Army. An order for this was given by the War Office on the 18th of October, 1914, and this order stated that it was advisable to place the Russian prisoners with their Allies, the English and the French. . . . The doctor at the camp made representations against this, but the higher authorities obstinately insisted on their order, and the parties concerned had nothing else to do but to obey."

Having thus shifted the blame, the Court proceeded to praise the general

in a manner that approached canonization. "Kruska, as is well known, and as all who were associated with him in the work of the prisoners' camp testify, is of a deeply religious character and a convinced Christian. . . . A camp Commandant must consider himself the father of the prisoners of war. The accused, General Kruska, as the trial has revealed, came very near to realizing this idea. . . . General Kruska, as well as General von Schack, is, as the State Attorney has himself said, to be acquitted absolutely. . . . The trial before this Court has not revealed even the shadow of proof for these monstrous accusations."

The French retired at this point, raging and disgusted, and the British returned to court, presenting a case that they deemed to be unassailable. The charges were levelled against First Lieutenants Ludwig Dithmar and Johann Boldt, accused of sinking the hospital ship *Llandoverly Castle*, and then firing on the lifeboats. Of the two hundred and fifty-eight persons on board, only twenty-four were saved. One Helmut Patzig was the commander of the U-boat, but the German Government professed inability to locate him, and only his two juniors stood trial. Dithmar, still in the Navy, appeared in uniform, but Boldt, while retired, proudly wore the Iron Cross on his morning coat.

The Court, in its findings, admitted that none of the evidence in the case had been disputed and the two officers likewise confessed that there was never any doubt as to the character of the ship, and that she was torpedoed because of an ungrounded suspicion that "American airmen were on board". The *Llandoverly Castle* sank within ten minutes after being struck, but favourable weather assisted life-saving operations, and some nineteen boats were launched. Only one, that containing Captain Sylvester, came to shore, the others having in all probability been sunk by fire from the U-boat.

The testimony of the survivors was explicit. First the submarine tried ramming, darting back and forth among the lifeboats, and then began a systematic bombardment. Their statements were supported by one Knoche, chief engineer of the submarine, and also by one Popitz, third officer of the watch. In addition to admitting that the lifeboats had been fired on deliberately, they testified that Patzig had called the crew together, and made them take an oath never to reveal what had occurred. It was also brought out that the U-boat's log-book had been falsified in an attempt to escape responsibility. To quote from the findings of the Court: "It is clear that by every means Patzig has endeavoured to conceal this event. He made no entry of it in the vessel's log-book. He has even entered on the chart an incorrect statement of the route taken by the ship, showing a track a long way distant from the spot where the torpedoing occurred, so that in the event of the sinking of the *Llandoverly Castle* becoming known, no official inquiries into the matter could connect him with it."

Vice-Admiral von Trotha, appearing as a naval expert for the defence, boldly took the position that submarine commanders were not permitted to let themselves be held back from "stern duty by feelings of humanity". Another naval expert sought to make the point that the lost lifeboats might have been destroyed by wreckage, and that even if they had been fired on, there was no proof that deaths had occurred as a result of the firing. Both Dithmar and Boldt refused to testify in their own behalf, holding that they were bound to silence by the promise that they had given Patzig.

In the face of the evidence, the Court showed a courage that had been lacking in other cases. It had been clearly established, said the statement, that the officers of the U-boat knew that they had been guilty of a crime in sinking the hospital ship, and firing on the lifeboats was an attempt to do away with all possible witnesses. A sentence of four years was imposed, Dithmar was dismissed from the service, and Boldt forbidden ever to wear a uniform. A mob roared disapproval of the verdict, and the British mission had to leave the court-room by a side door, closely guarded by the police.

That ended the "Leipzig travesty". Dithmar and Boidt never served a day of their sentences, for high government officials spirited them out of the Court's jurisdiction, and as for the others, they were paroled after a week or two in prison. The British severed all connection with the trials, convinced of their uselessness, and the remaining thirty-seven cases were dismissed on the ground of "insufficient evidence". Ludendorff, Admiral von Tirpitz, and the other War Lords died in their beds, honoured to the last, and Field-Marshal von Mackensen, accompanied by a glittering array of Army officers, attended the funeral of the Kaiser. General von Hindenburg, under whose orders Belgium and France had been ravaged, marched on to become President of the Republic, and at his death left a great estate, the gift of an adoring populace. The one thing proved by the "Leipzig travesty" was the utter futility of expecting that German war criminals, no matter how black their guilt, could or would be punished by the courts of their country.

Freed of fear and contemptuous of the "soft-headed" Allies, Germany began the organized repudiation of every other clause in the Treaty of Versailles, backed at every point by the "splendid German people", of whom so much was expected with the lifting of the "Hohenzollern yoke".

CHAPTER IX

PLEDGES OF PUNISHMENT

WHERE THE ALLIES blundered hopelessly, as the record shows, was in failing to give the matter of war crimes and war criminals any real consideration until they gathered for the Peace Conference early in 1919. Only then was a commission appointed to make the necessary studies and recommendations, and even the burning report of this body did not result in swift or decisive action. All punitive measures were postponed for inclusion in the final Treaty of Peace, negotiated and signed many months after the armistice, and at a time when problems of reconstruction and rehabilitation occupied the attention of nations and peoples. Doubtless due to the press of larger importances, such as reparations, territorial questions and the League of Nations, even then the clauses dealing with crimes and criminals were loosely drawn, setting forth no definite procedure. Certainly plain proof of hurried thinking is furnished by the purely rhetorical indictment of the Kaiser for "a supreme offence against international morality and the sanctity of treaties" rather than arraignment for specific acts committed in his name and under his authority.

To-day, of course, the United Nations are in a vastly better position. Profiting by the mistakes of the Allies in World War I, Nazi murderers, torturers, and slavers are being listed, and every atrocity made a matter of careful record. Back in 1918, lack of conclusive proof in many cases permitted the Germans to cast doubt on all charges as barefaced lies invented by Allied propagandists. Now a United Nations Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes is already at work, with London as its headquarters, collecting evidence and preparing complete dossiers.

An even greater advantage lies in the utter shamelessness of the Nazis. The "frightfulness" commanded by Hindenburg and Ludendorff took the world by surprise, and as the first atrocity charges were not documented, people simply could not believe them. In the United States particularly,

with its millions of decent, respected citizens of German birth and descent, there was an almost universal unwillingness to credit the stories that came from Belgium and France. I myself shared this feeling, and as chairman of the Committee on Public Information, refused to give the Bryce Report official circulation. The alleged mutilation of women, and the tale about the crucifixion of a Canadian soldier were such obvious fabrications that the later reports of Ambassador Brand Whitlock and Herbert Hoover were also disbelieved or else doubted.

The pre-war barbarities of Hitler and the Nazis, however, gave the world full warning of what might be expected when the Master Race set forth on its campaign of conquest. The liquidation of the Jews, the massacres in Austria and Czechoslovakia, the screams that came from tortured men and women in concentration camps, the savage "blood purges", all drove home the realization that it was no army the Fuehrer led, but a *murder gang*. Any remaining doubt was removed by the invasion of Poland, with its horrors, and the judgment of all mankind was quick to follow.

As early as 25th October, 1941, President Roosevelt voiced America's indignation, stating hotly that the Nazis must and would be held to strict account for their "inhuman conduct of the war." One by one the other nations, neutral as well as belligerent, expressed horror and condemnation. It is important to set these statements down in some detail, even at the risk of thrashing old straw, not only as a sequential record, but to show that Nazi atrocities are accepted as *proved*. It is not individuals who indict Hitler and the Germans as barbarians, but responsible governments, speaking through their accredited representatives.

Of the belligerents, the Russians were the first to charge the Nazis with "abominable crimes", and to declare punishment as a principal war aim. On 6th January, 1942, the U.S.S.R. denounced "the universal plunder and ruin of the population and the monstrous atrocities of the German authorities in Soviet territories captured by them," and stated full intention to "make a detailed record of these crimes, for which the outraged Soviet people justly demand and will obtain full retribution." This pledge is being carried out with relentless thoroughness, for the lists issued weekly range from generals to privates, from colonels to corporals, from Gestapo torturers to gauleiters. As for "detailed records", here are a few illustrations:

It was established that between 5th and 10th August, 1942, some German soldiers from the S.S. Kommandatur, with Obersergeant-Major Goering and Sergeant-Major Schmidt at the head, took out of the Stavropol Psychiatric Hospital and killed in these vans with carbon monoxide six hundred and sixty patients.

"On 9th September, 1942, about two thousand Jews, among them aged people, women and children, gathered at the Kislovodsk railway yard. They were put aboard a train consisting of eighteen open platform cars and two box-cars and were despatched to Mineralnye Vody under heavy escort. On the basis of the orders of the Commandant of Kislovodsk, Pohl, Chief of the Kislovodsk Gestapo, Welben, his assistant Weber and the Commandant of Mineralnye Vody, Major Bart, all of the two thousand were shot in an anti-tank ditch opposite a glass works two and one-half kilometres from Mineralnye Vody.

"For the crimes committed in the city of Orel and the Orel Region; for the murders and tortures of wounded and sick war prisoners; for the plundering and abducting of Soviet citizens to German slavery; for the destruction of collective farms, villages and towns; for the looting of the properties of State, co-operative and public institutions—the Extraordinary State Committee holds responsible the commander of the Second German Tank Army, General Schmidt, the commander of the Orel administrative area and military com-

mandant of the city, Major-General Hamann, and also the direct executors of these monstrous crimes: [twelve names]."

Following the example of the Russians, the governments in exile met in St. James's Palace on 13th January, 1942, and a solemn Declaration was signed by representatives of Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Greece, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Poland, and Yugoslavia. It declared, in part, that:

"Whereas Germany, since the beginning of the present conflict, which arose out of her policy of aggression, has instituted in occupied countries a régime of terror characterized in particular by imprisonments, mass expulsions, execution of hostages and massacres, recalling that international law and, in particular, the convention signed at The Hague in 1907 regarding laws and customs of land warfare, do not permit belligerents in occupied countries to perpetrate acts of violence against civilians, to bring into disrepute laws in force, or to overthrow national institutions, the undersigned representatives affirm that acts of violence thus perpetrated against civilian populations are at variance with accepted ideas concerning acts of war and political offences, as these are understood by civilized nations, and place amongst their principal war aims punishment through the channel of organized justice of those guilty and responsible for these crimes, whether they have ordered them, perpetrated them or in any way participated in them, and determine in the spirit of international solidarity to see to it that (a) those guilty and responsible, whatever their nationality, are sought for, handed over to justice and judged; (b) that sentences pronounced are carried out."

In the spring of 1942 information began to pour in, pointing to a considerable recrudescence of persecutions by the German and Italian occupants and their satellites. Accordingly, the signatories to the St. James's Palace Declaration resolved once more to draw the attention of the civilized world to these crimes. In pursuance of an understanding reached by the signatories to the Declaration, a series of *notæ verbales*, differing slightly in form but conveying identical sentiments, was drawn up and presented to the governments of the Great Powers. A short memorandum was annexed to these notes, outlining some of the fresh war crimes committed in the occupied countries since the signing of the Declaration; and the signatories have, from time to time, as occasion demanded, submitted further evidence.

On 21st August, 1942, President Roosevelt acknowledged receipt of the note and made this statement of purpose:

"The Government of the United States has been aware for some time of these crimes. Our Government is constantly receiving additional information from dependable sources and it welcomes reports from any trustworthy source which would assist in keeping our growing fund of information and evidence up to date and reliable. The United Nations are going to win this war. When victory has been achieved, it is the purpose of the Government of the United States, as I know it is the purpose of each of the United Nations, to make appropriate use of the information and evidence in respect to these barbaric crimes of the invaders, in Europe and in Asia. It seems only fair that they should have this warning that the time will come when they shall have to stand in courts of law in the very countries which they are now oppressing and answer for their acts."

On 8th September, Mr. Churchill put himself on record in these words: "I wish most particularly to identify the British Government and the House

of Commons with the solemn words which have been lately used by the President of the United States, namely that those who are guilty of the Nazi crimes will have to stand up before tribunals in every land where their atrocities have been committed in order that an indelible warning may be given to future ages and that successive generations of men may say 'So perish all who do the like again'."

On 7th October, President Roosevelt released an even more emphatic statement concerning "the barbaric crimes being committed by the enemy against civilian populations in occupied countries," and, for the first time, gave notice that any armistice terms would *include provision for the surrender of all criminals*. With a view to "establishing responsibility of the guilty individuals through the collection and assessment of all available evidence," he said that the United States was prepared to co-operate with the British and other governments in establishing a United Nations Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes. "The number of persons eventually found guilty," he declared, "will be extremely small compared to the total enemy populations. It is not the intention of this government or of the governments associated with us to resort to mass reprisals. It is our intention that just and sure punishment shall be meted out to the ringleaders responsible for the organized murder of thousands of innocent persons and the commission of atrocities which have violated every tenet of the Christian faith."

Lord Simon, Lord Chancellor of England, followed quickly with an endorsement of this stand, agreeing on behalf of his government that "the surrender of war criminals will be one of the conditions of the armistice conventions." All of the other United Nations approved, thus guarding against any repetition of the blunder of the Allies in 1918.

On 12th October, the President spoke again. Declaring that the Germans were increasing "the fury of their atrocities", he said that "the United Nations have decided to establish the identity of those Nazi leaders who are responsible for the innumerable acts of savagery. As each of these criminal deeds is committed it is being carefully investigated; and the evidence is being relentlessly piled up for the future purposes of justice. We have made it entirely clear that the United Nations seek no mass reprisals against the populations of Germany or Italy or Japan. But the ringleaders and their brutal henchmen must be named, and apprehended, and tried in accordance with the judicial processes of criminal law."

This declaration brought cheers from the Russians. Mr. Molotov, the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, announced that "the Soviet Government is in agreement with the declaration of Mr. Roosevelt, President of the United States of America, made in his speech of 12th October, on the question of punishing the Nazi leaders, concretely responsible for countless acts of brutality, i.e. that the clique of leaders and their cruel accomplices must be mentioned by name, arrested and tried according to the criminal code. The whole of mankind knows the names and bloody crimes of the leaders of the criminal Hitlerite clique: Hitler, Goering, Hess, Goebbels, Himmler, Ribbentrop, Rosenberg and other organizers of German brutalities from among the leaders of Fascist Germany."

"The Soviet Government considers that, like the governments of all States defending their independence against the Hitlerite hordes, it is obliged to regard the stern punishment of the aforesaid leaders of the criminal Hitlerite clique as its immediate duty to the countless widows, orphans, relatives and friends of all those innocent people who have been brutally tortured and killed by order of the criminals named. The Soviet Government considers it essential to hand over without delay to the courts of the special international tribunal, and to punish according to all the severity of the criminal code, any of the

leaders of Fascist Germany who in the course of the war have fallen into the hands of States fighting against Hitlerite Germany."

Up to this point, only Germans were being considered; but on 21st April, 1943, President Roosevelt levelled a specific indictment against the Japanese: "It is with a feeling of deepest horror," he said, "which I know will be shared by all civilized peoples, that I have to announce the barbarous execution by the Japanese Government of some of the members of this country's armed forces who fell into Japanese hands as an incident of warfare. The Press has just carried the details of the American bombing of Japan a year ago. The crews of two of the American bombers were captured by the Japanese. On 19th October, 1942, this Government learned from Japanese radio broadcasts of the capture, trial and severe punishment of those Americans. Continued endeavour was made to obtain confirmation of those reports from Tokyo.

"It was not until 12th March, 1943, that the American Government received the communication given by the Japanese Government, stating that these Americans had in fact been tried and that the death penalty had been pronounced against them. It was further stated that the death penalty was commuted for some but that the sentence of death had been applied to others. This Government has vigorously condemned this act of barbarity in a formal communication sent to the Japanese Government that the American Government will hold personally and officially responsible for these diabolical crimes all of those officers of the Japanese Government who have participated therein and will in due course bring those officers to justice." (Either through lack of effort or, more probably, utter inability, the names of the officers are not yet known.)

The overthrow of Mussolini, and his release from detention by the Germans, brought up at once the question of what course should be followed by the United Nations in dealing with such cases. President Roosevelt, undoubtedly speaking for the Great Powers, made decisive answer, stating on 28th July, 1943, that "no criminal will be allowed to escape by the expedient of resignation".

These declarations of purpose, while explicit, were separate, and not until the Moscow Conference were they brought together in this unified and unequivocal statement, signed by Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin:

"Accordingly, the aforesaid three Allied powers, speaking in the interests of the thirty-two United Nations, hereby solemnly declare and give full warning of their declaration as follows:

"At the time of granting of any armistice to any government which may be set up in Germany, those German officers and men and members of the Nazi party who have been responsible for or have taken a consenting part in the above atrocities, massacres and executions will be sent back to the countries in which their abominable deeds were done in order that they may be judged and punished according to the laws of these liberated countries and of the free governments which will be erected therein. Lists will be compiled in all possible detail from all these countries, having regard especially to invaded parts of the Soviet Union, to Poland and Czechoslovakia, to Yugoslavia and Greece, including Crete and other islands; to Norway, Denmark, the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxembourg, France and Italy.

"Thus, Germans who take part in wholesale shooting of Polish officers or in the execution of French, Dutch, Belgian or Norwegian hostages, or of Cretan peasants, or who have shared in slaughters inflicted on the people of Poland or in territories of the Soviet Union which are now being swept clear of the enemy, will know they will be brought back to the scene of their crimes and judged on the spot by the peoples whom they have outraged. Let those who have hitherto not imbrued their hands with innocent blood beware lest they join the ranks of the guilty, for most assuredly the three Allied powers will

pursue them to the uttermost ends of the earth and will deliver them to their accusers in order that justice may be done.

"The above declaration is without prejudice to the case of German criminals whose offences have no particular geographical localization and who will be punished by joint decision of the governments of the Allies."

A strong statement, explicit in its acceptance of the fact that Nazi barbarities stand proved, and uncompromising in its declaration of purpose. Even so, it needs supplementation in many important respects, and the sooner the better. For one thing, "atrocities, massacres and executions," the crimes specifically mentioned, do not cover the field by any means. What of the prophets of Baal, the Ribbentrops, Papens, Leys, Farinaccis, *et al.*, against whom no such indictments have been brought? What of the Gaydas and the Haushofers? And the plunderers? The civilians who have looted cities and villages? The many agents of Goering who have handled the job of enslaving men and women for labour in the Reich?

At a United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Conference held in Atlantic City in November, 1943, another form of war guilt was developed by Constantine Fotitch, the Yugoslav ambassador. It was his insistence, made in behalf of his Government, that Germans forcibly settled or colonized in the homes of Jews and other natives of occupied countries should not be returned to Germany without the consent of the government concerned. What he had in mind, in all probability, was that these so-called "settlers" should be held to strict accountability for their conduct while in possession of the expropriated holdings.

In the event that the criminals escape by plane or submarine to a neutral country, and claim refuge as "political offenders", what then? True, all of the neutral nations have been approached in the matter, but the replies at first were either cold to the point of rebuff or else so cautious as to be meaningless. The answers of Spain and Portugal were non-committal; Argentina and Turkey stated that they would "conform to the principles of international law," a distinct evasion; Sweden merely took note of the request; and Switzerland replied somewhat tartly that she would be guided by due regard for her sovereignty. Certainly these unsatisfactory replies could not be regarded as an end to the matter. (See APPENDIX III.)

Nothing is more important than the study of existing extradition treaties with a view to revision, if there is need, and the serving of notice on all neutral countries that the historic right of asylum for political fugitives does *not* cover criminals. But how? Will the United States, Great Britain, and Russia continue as an executive committee for the United Nations, although self-appointed rather than chosen? Quite obviously, some broader body, vested with specific powers, will have to be set up, not only as a spokesman but for the settlement of a thousand-and-one vexed questions.

The Moscow statement, moreover, gives no indication of policies with respect to jurisdiction, prosecution and procedure. Localized crimes are to be "judged and punished according to the laws" of the country in which they have been committed. But what if two countries file claim on the same criminal? Joseph Buerckel tortured and killed in Moravia prior to his appointment as gauleiter of Lorraine, and Seyss-Inquart murdered in Austria before his transfer to Holland.

And what is meant by the phrase, "*according to the laws*"? Is this to be taken as insistence on civil trials and normal judicial procedure? Will more summary methods, such as military commissions or courts-martial, be frowned upon? Will each country be given a free hand, or will some supervisory body claim the right of suggestion and restraint? Already, in many of the United Nations, a cry has been raised against the Kharkov trials.

Far too vague is the declaration that criminals, whose crimes have "no

particular geographical localization, will be punished by joint decision of the governments of the Allies." How will this joint decision be reached? And when? Distinction between localized and non-localized crimes is not the easy matter that it seems, for scarce one of the Axis gangster chieftains but has roamed from country to country, particularly Heinrich Himmler. Hitler led the invasion of Poland and directed personally many of the atrocities, and so did Goering. Alfred Rosenberg has never left Berlin, but as *Reichsminister* of the Ukraine the Russians hold him responsible for murder and ravage.

It was the failure to decide on *definite procedure*, well in advance of the armistice in 1918, that let the Kaiser and his terrorists go free.

CHAPTER X

NATIONAL TRIALS

THE RUSSIANS, for their part, have not waited for any clarification of the Moscow statement, going ahead on the assumption that each ravaged country has the right to deal with war criminals as it deems fit, and without suggestion or interference from the outside. In December, 1943, little more than a month after the Roosevelt-Churchill-Stalin declaration, three Germans and one Russian were hung in Kharkov's public square before a throng of fifty thousand. The men were not tried in a civil court, but judged and condemned by the Military Tribunal of the Fourth Ukrainian Front. As a result, two schools of thought have developed in the United States, each striving to be more vocal than the other.

One school approves Russian procedure without reservation, applauding summary execution as the only proper solution of the war-crimes problem. Poles, Czechs, Dutch, French, Norwegians, and other victims of Germany's fury, runs the argument, have every right to a free hand. What impudence for an unravaged America to tell tortured peoples what they should, or should not, do when it comes to dealing with the beasts that overran them! From many quarters also comes the relishful whisper that a Day of Little Hatchets is no more than a short cut to justice. Let the other nations turn away their eyes for a while, and the Belgians, Poles, Czechs, and Norwegians may be counted on to settle the whole business quickly and satisfactorily. What mercy did the Germans show?

The other school is just as insistent that the United States cannot adopt a "Pontius Pilate rôle". What good, they ask, will it be to win the war if Justice is lost? Any attempt to evade responsibility by "looking the other way" is damned as "moral isolation". Are we to sink to the level of the enemy, matching savagery against savagery? Shall a great crusade on behalf of righteousness become no more than a struggle between two groups of jungle beasts? Attacking the Kharkov trials as smacking of the "drumhead", they plead for judicial procedure, holding that it is better for a thousand guilty to escape rather than have one innocent man condemned unjustly. Much of this thought derives from England, where the Archbishop of Canterbury protested the bombing of German cities, and other prelates are actually urging a policy of loving-kindness.

Both schools are less than fair and accurate in their estimation of Russian procedure. Nothing at Kharkov warrants the belief that Stalin has authorized

mass reprisals—a “Day of Little Hatchets”—or that the trials were “drum-heads”, divorced from any relation to justice. Although military, not civil, the court was made up of high-ranking officers, presided over by a distinguished major-general, and lawyers of proved ability appeared for the defence. The trials were open to the public, and the indictments were clearly drawn, alleging specific offences.

Captain William Langheld, fifty-two years of age, and a Gestapo commander, was charged with having personally shot down one hundred Soviet citizens, and assisting in the massacre of some three thousand others; Hans Ritz, twenty-four, leader of a special detachment of Storm Troops, of direct participation in the slaughter of civilians after the German recapture of Kiev, many being used as “live targets for rifle practice”; Richard Retzlaw, a Gestapo corporal, of having supervised the operation of “death trucks” in which five thousand men and women were asphyxiated by piping in carbon-monoxide gas. Michael Bulanoff, twenty-six, a Russian who served as chauffeur for the Gestapo during the occupation of Kharkov, was accused of aiding in the butchery of sixty children, all taken from their homes into the forests and there mowed down with machine-guns.

None of the four made any effort to refute the testimony of eye-witnesses; they even added details as to mass executions, group murder by asphyxiation and other sadistic practices. Retzlaw estimated thirty thousand as the number of civilians that he himself had seen done to death, and Langheld told how infants were taken from the arms of murdered mothers and killed to “stop their screaming”. All three Germans, however, pleaded that they were soldiers who had only carried out the will of their superiors. Langheld, asked whether the orders for wholesale massacres came from the German Government, answered that Hitler himself was directly and entirely responsible. Ritz, under examination, testified that Heinrich Himmler had issued a command that told every Gestapo operative to “execute according to his own Aryan feelings”.

This pleading was stressed by the lawyers for the defence, but the judges refused to consider it, holding that the acts were crimes, and that in carrying out their orders the accused shared in the blood guilt of their superiors. In support of this view, they cited clauses of the Geneva Convention that made the murder or ill-treatment of civilians a crime against the law of nations. The Press of Russia, always speaking authoritatively, upheld this contention, refusing to accept any distinction between principal and agent.

If the Kharkov trials are to be considered as “smacking of the drumhead”, then what of America’s own disposition of the eight German saboteurs who landed on Long Island and Florida coasts in 1942? Arrested by the Federal Bureau of Investigation on 27th July, an executive order, issued by the President on 2nd August, denied these men the right of trial in civil courts, and set up a military commission to handle the cases. His action, quite openly, was designed to avoid the delays and technicalities incident to civil trials, and also to permit imposition of the death sentence, as the maximum penalty for sabotage, under civil law, was thirty years.

Four major-generals and three brigadier-generals composed the court; and Attorney-General Francis Biddle conducted the prosecution, flanked by Major-General Myron C. Cramer, Judge Advocate-General, James H. Rowe, Assistant Attorney-General, and Oscar Cox, Assistant Solicitor-General. The defence of seven of the saboteurs was in the able hands of Colonel Kenneth C. Royall and Colonel Cassius M. Dowell, with Colonel Carl Ristine appearing as counsel for George Dasch, who elected to plead separately. The trial lasted from 8th July to 3rd August, and as an answer to any possible charge of “lynch law”, the Supreme Court of the United States interrupted its progress to rule on an application for writs of *habeas corpus*.

A special session was called on 31st July to hear the petitions, and counsel for the Government and the defence made lengthy arguments. Colonel Royall held that the saboteurs were not armed, and that the acts of the President, both in creating a military commission and in denying access to civil courts, were unconstitutional and invalid. The justices, after due deliberation, held unanimously that the President was within his rights and that the Commission was legally constituted. At a later date Chief Justice Stone filed an opinion, supplementing the memorandum ruling, in which he said that there was no significance in the fact that the saboteurs did not carry "conventional weapons", and that their plans did not necessarily "contemplate collision" with our soldiers. "Modern warfare," he declared, "is directed at the destruction of enemy war supplies and the implements of their production and transportation as much as at the armed forces."

The Military Commission, thus approved by the Supreme Court, resumed the trial, and three days later announced that the findings and the evidence had been presented to the President. On 7th August, the White House made it known that six of the saboteurs had been electrocuted, that one had been given a life sentence, and one a thirty-year prison term.

Certainly the Kharkov trials do not suffer by comparison with American procedure. There the accused were tried in open court, with foreign newspaper correspondents granted full right to attend and report. The death sentences were pronounced for all to hear, and the condemned men were led forth to the gallows in the full light of day. In America the trials were held behind closed doors, not only the public but reporters being excluded; and not until the saboteurs were dead and in their graves was anything told to the people. Yet no voice, at the time, was lifted to attack the procedure or to assail its fairness. Public opinion approved.

The occupied countries—and of this there is no question—will claim the same right to deal with criminals, and it is also beyond doubt that they will follow the Russian and American patterns. The complicated machinery of the civil courts will not be used nor the tortuous technicalities of civil codes be permitted. Justice must be swift, or else the pent-up bitterness of wretched millions will find expression in Little Hatchets and Long Knives. And any attempt on the part of the outside world to dictate procedure—particularly the United States that has never been touched by the heel of an invader—is bound to be resented and defied.

Just as the "extermination" school, however, is wrong in assuming an explosion of hate, a sweep of mass murder, so is the "blindfolded justice" school equally in error when it presupposes "drumheads". Not one of the occupied countries but has expressed itself on the subject of war criminals and their punishment through authoritative spokesmen; and while the emphasis is on swiftness and certainty, in no single case has there been failure to stress orderly, legal process or to warn against the thirst for vengeance. Nothing is more baseless than the pharisaical assumption of many Americans that the United States must "save" Poles, Belgians, Czechs *et al.*, from their innate savageries.

By way of proof, let Poland be considered. For more than four years now, this tragic country has suffered German occupation, knowing every imaginable horror, yet private reprisals have been held in check, and all punitive measures made the business of a duly constituted court, an integral part of the "underground government". To quote "Mr. B" once again, no Pole, even if his family has been butchered before his eyes, is permitted to take justice into his own hands. That is the right of judges who sit in secret session, passing sentences on traitors and Germans after due consideration of evidence.

"It is our law, known to all," he explained, "that collaboration with the Nazis is high treason. In judging such cases, of course, the court is very careful

to determine whether collaboration is voluntary or enforced. Even when voluntary, consideration is given to the extent and effect. If the accused has done no more than fraternize with a Nazi or patronize a Nazi cinema, the sentence is usually one of ostracism. His name is printed in the underground papers, and all citizens are forbidden to associate with him or even to give him friendly greeting. If, however, it stands proved that collaboration was both voluntary and helpful to the Nazis, death is the sentence. Here are some examples:

"Franciszek Rutkowski, employed in the Warsaw Public Health Department, gave the Gestapo information about guns and ammunition we had hidden in the sewers. These caches were found, and a number of our people were killed. The special tribunal sentenced Rutkowski on 14th March, and he was shot on the eighteenth while going to work. Stanislaw Janik and his wife, Janina, disclosed certain mountain paths used by our underground couriers. They were found guilty on 10th April, at 9.15 p.m., and the Punitive Detachment executed them as they ate breakfast the following morning.

"Death sentences, as a usual thing, are carried out at the earliest possible moment. In every case the name of the condemned, whether Pole or German, is given publication in our underground Press, for we want people to know that it is a legal act and not private vengeance.

"With respect to Nazis, the secret court takes action only under extreme pressure. In many cases, an official is so fiendish that public opinion demands his execution regardless of consequences. Or a Gestapo agent may learn too much about underground operations and become a positive danger. He must be liquidated, no matter at what cost. You can be sure, however, that the court weighs one consideration against another.

"Take the case of Hoffmann, a foul creature who devised an ingenious campaign for the debauchment of our youth. He had to die, regardless of the consequences. An even better illustration is Wilhelm Krueger, head of the Gestapo in Cracow, and trained by Himmler himself. It was Krueger who raised the number of concentration camps in his district from twenty-two to forty-one, and made torture part of the daily routine. It was Krueger who set fire to synagogues after crowding them with Jews, and who first conceived the idea of pumping poison gas into halls where human beings were packed like cattle. A confirmed sadist, it was his habit to talk to prisoners so softly and gently as a father, and then, suddenly thrusting forward with outspread fingers, jab out their eyeballs. The death sentence in his case was clearly indicated, for to have let him live might have made the people of Cracow doubt God and His justice."

Time and again "Mr. B" made the point that Poles do not intend to let righteous anger drag them down to the Nazi level, but in the same breath he made it clear that a nation mourning millions of unsheathed dead does not mean to have justice hobbled by the tortuosities of civil courts. So thorough is the organization of the underground in city, town, and rural districts, he declared, that municipal and provincial governments can be set up within twenty-four hours after the expulsion of the Germans. The "special courts", therefore, accenting justice but divorced from technicalities, will simply come up into the daylight and carry on. Any slower or less certain method would not be endured by the people.

What is there in this procedure, however, to justify the apprehension of the British bishop quoted by Lord Vansittart? "What I fear more than anything else," moaned this prelate, "is what is going to happen the week after the war comes to an end; what those who are oppressed and tortured are going to do when the means of revenge and the worst impulses of vindictiveness are put in their hands." If the tearful bishop, as would seem probable, favours condonement of rape and butchery, he may expect disappointment, but his plain

intimation of "lynch law" is an insult without base. Not one of the occupied countries but has disavowed thought of mass reprisals.

The Danes also operate an underground court that passes judgment on both Germans and "collaborators", and its sentences are carried out by Punitive Squads. Another division of the underground keeps a comprehensive card-index of those to be arraigned when victory comes, and it is expected that the people will be governed by this list. A Danish Council of Liberation, according to the underground Press, is now at work on a revision of the criminal laws that will permit trials by special courts, assuring speed but safeguarding justice.

The Norwegians, with equal right to every bitterness of hate, have expressed themselves in much the same manner as the Poles. *The Church and the Transition Period*, a book recently published under governmental sanction, sets forth this statement of purpose:

"It is the only authority which has the right to punish crimes; all private revenge and all personal craving for vengeance is condemned by God's Word. If our people should give way to their passions, we would begin the new day in Norway by violating God's justice. Then the spirit of Nazism, despite all, would have triumphed over us, because we would then have come to be as they were. The settlement must and shall transpire according to Norwegian law and justice.

"It must first be clear, however, that the Church can never wish to shut its eyes to evil. Quite the opposite, it is for the Church very essential that evil receives its punishment. Not because revenge is to be wrought, but because God's justice requires it. It may be tempting to circumvent the settlement, to say that now we have had enough of death penalty and prison, that now we want to return to the good old and harmless days, and enjoy our regained freedom without having to listen to the harsh words of justice. But if our people follow this course we shall be 'sailing with skeletons in our cargo' because we do not then base our community life on justice, but on convenience.

"Crime is not only a social wrong, but a sin. The Church has always known that crime must be punished and sin atoned. . . . The respect for the inviolability of law, for the country's constitution and society's authority will be destroyed for generations among our people if the guilty are not held responsible. But the Church must demand that this settlement transpire in legal manner."

The U.S. Office of War Information might do worse than spread this statement far and wide, especially among the clergy. All too many pulpit voices stress the Sermon on the Mount, but fail to remember that Christ scourged the money-lenders from the temple in a burst of righteous indignation.

The Czechs are already on record in favour of military commissions for the trial and punishment of all Germans and traitors, although pledging themselves to safeguard the rights of the accused. The Belgians, while somewhat inclined to continue their faith in duly recognized courts of law, have been diligently at work plugging up the loopholes in their judicial procedure. New offences against the "security of the state" were specified by the government-in-exile, and a commission of jurists went to work, studying modifications of the Belgian law that would make for greater speed.

The Dutch, however, with characteristic foresight and thoroughness, have laid down a pattern of trial and punishment that is a marvel of detail. Domestic traitors and German criminals have been named and separated into categories, and the exact penalties duly prescribed. According to *Het Parool (The Watchword)*, Holland's underground newspaper, military commissions will judge "Germans charged with atrocities, and the leaders of the Dutch Nazi Party, headed by Anton Mussert and Meinoud Rost van Tonningen." Anything other than swift, stern action, it declares, would invite "the horror of *Bijlles Dag*", the Day of Little Hatchets.

A second category, made up of all Dutchmen who put on the uniform of Storm Troopers and Youth Storm Troopers, are to be tried by special courts, geared to high speed. "These persons," says *Het Parool*, "who were prepared to shoot their compatriots in order to keep Hitler and Mussert in power, must be sentenced to a minimum of ten years' penal servitude in jungle territories, such as New Guinea, Surinam, or Borneo, and must be deprived of citizenship."

A third category is the Waffen SS (Dutch section of the Nazi Elite Guard) and all those who, although not members of this corps, took the same oath of allegiance to Hitler. "Through this oath these people gave up their Netherlands nationality, and must be forbidden to remain on Dutch territory. With their families, they may migrate to Germany."

The fourth and largest class, consisting of the rank and file of the Dutch Nazi Party, most of whom are tradesmen, professional men, and civil servants, are to be judged by "small commissions". If guilty, the punishment will be prison terms, or "loss of the right to follow their former trade or profession for a specified time, or for life, and loss of their right to vote".

All of these will also be dispossessed of property as "the first contribution towards the material re-establishment of patriots who have been robbed". As another source of funds for the latter purpose, the heaviest feasible taxes will be levied upon war profiteers who, although not Dutch Nazi Party members, "have been as treacherous and unpatriotic as real Nazis". A complete programme, and one in which the Dutch will not tolerate meddling. Nor will any other people who have suffered from German fury, particularly when meddling proceeds from the assumption that they will revert to savagery in the hour of victory.

Each nation *is* and *must* be the judge of crimes committed in its own territory. Any over-all body, created by the United Nations as a whole, can have no other function than to settle disputes when two or three countries lay claim to the same criminal. If and when it develops that justice is being outraged, then, and only then, will interference be justified. Meanwhile, those righteous souls who are so fearful that "fair trials" will be denied the Hitlers and the Himmlers, may read with profit the reply of the Allies and Associated Governments when the Germans asked for justice in 1919:

"Germany's responsibility is not confined to having planned and started the war. She is no less responsible for the savage and inhuman manner in which it was conducted. . . .

"Justice, therefore, is the only possible basis for the settlement of the accounts of this terrible war. Justice is what the German delegation asks for, and says that Germany has been promised. But it must be justice for all. There must be justice for the dead and wounded, and for those who have been orphaned and bereaved, that Europe might be free from Prussian despotism. There must be justice for the peoples who now stagger under war debts which exceed £6,000,000,000 that liberty might be saved. There must be justice for those millions whose homes and lands and property German savagery has spoliated and destroyed."

CHAPTER XI

INTERNATIONAL TRIALS

OCCUPIED COUNTRIES, GRANTED their undeniable right to deal with those at whose hands they have suffered, may be counted on to take care of the gauleiters, quislings, gangsters and mobsters. No such certainty of swift punishment is

promised with respect to the Master Murderers. "German criminals whose offences have no particular geographical localization . . . will be punished by joint decision of the governments of the Allies." This statement, containing no hint as to procedure, opens the door to all manner of confused debate, and unless made specific at an early date, may well result in the same vacillations that made a mock of justice once before.

Full and instant recognition should be given to the fact that the United Nations have a free hand, for neither in international law nor history is there any precedent to guide or restrain. Genghis Khan, Attila and Alaric dealt summarily and bloodily with the vanquished, and Roman conquerors, returning in triumph, dragged the defeated at their chariot wheels. Hannibal and Marcus Antonius, in no doubt as to their fate, swallowed poison when capture became imminent. Pompey, his army crushed by Cæsar, was murdered by one of his own centurions.

The cases of Charles I, Louis XVI, Marshal Ney and Jefferson Davis, frequently cited, are without any large amount of relevance. Charles Stuart, charged by Parliament with being "the capital and grand author of our troubles," was specifically accused of treasonable acts, and tried by the House of Commons. "It is lawful," argued John Milton, "and hath been held so through all ages, for any one who have the power to call to account a tyrant or wicked king." The Commons, purged of all who might show favour to Charles, heard his defence and sentenced him to death.

Louis XVI might have lived to indulge his passion for hunting and clock-mending but for his persistent dealings with France's open and declared enemies. What sealed his doom was midnight flight in an attempt to join these enemies. Brought before the Convention on the charge of treason, he was heard and condemned. Marshal Ney was plainly the victim of his own emotional instabilities. Among the first of Napoleon's generals to hail the restoration of the Bourbons to the throne, he was also among the first to hail the Corsican on his return from Elba. Captured after Waterloo, he was tried before the Chamber of Peers on a charge of treason, found guilty and put before a firing-squad.

With respect to Jefferson Davis, his arrest was in no sense the will of the North, but the deliberate act of vengeful men. Humbly born, and a tailor in his earlier years, Andrew Johnson walked the world from birth to death with only hates to keep him company. As a contemporary observed, "If Johnson were a snake, he would lie in the grass and bite the heels of rich men's children." Thaddeus Stevens and Ben Wade were no less malignant. The terms that Grant wrote at Appomattox breathed magnanimity, and paved the way for a peace without bitterness, but the trio would have none of them.

Indecently, dishonestly, they charged Jefferson Davis with having "incited, concerted and procured" the assassination of Lincoln, offered a reward of £25,000 for his capture, and had him treated as a common criminal after arrest. At Fort Monroe the president of the fallen Confederacy was put in a cell below the water level of the bay, and kept in manacles without the right of visitors or counsel. Two years passed before he was admitted to bail, and even then the charge of treason hung over him until Christmas Day, 1868, when a repentant Johnson issued a general amnesty proclamation.

All of these cases, as will be noted, were instituted by the State *against* citizens of the State for crimes *against* the State. Only in one respect do they offer anything to the United Nations in the way of guidance; the trials of Charles and Louis were *political actions* divorced entirely from the delays and technicalities of civil courts. It is a lesson that the Powers will do well to heed, and without dawdling, for already lawyers, theorists and sentimentalists are muddying the water with their insistences. No less a person than Madame Sigrid Undset, proceeding on the theory that the crimes of the Germans clearly

indicate insanity, has advanced this amazing suggestion: "The trial of war criminals should everywhere be conducted with the aid of psychiatrists and specialists from several branches of medicine. And the forces of occupation should be accompanied not only by regular Red Cross units but by a body of alienists and neurologists."

Lawyers, in love with the sterilities of their profession, are urging an International Court that will have "jurisdiction of crimes committed by heads of states, prominent military and naval officials and civilian framers of major policies; of offences committed against nationals of several countries in combination; of those committed against people rendered stateless by the Nazis; and cases in which an injured nation, for domestic reasons, prefers not to try in its local courts."

One proposal, now being pushed with vigour by unofficial groups, is for the creation of an International Court, made up of thirty-five world-famous jurists selected by the United Nations. Sitting in London, this court would try war criminals, including the heads of states, in all cases where domestic tribunals are found to be without jurisdiction. The judges are to be elected for seven-year terms, and the court itself will have at call an "international constabulary" for the execution of its orders. Hearings would be public and decisions reached by majority vote.

A recent debate in the House of Lords was based entirely on the assumption that there would be a court, although the Lord Chancellor took issue with advocates of an international tribunal. "Strictly speaking," he said, "I think it ought to be called a United Nations Court, or an Allied Court, for, unlike The Hague Tribunal, or bodies of that sort, it does not really aim at staffing itself by judges drawn from, amongst others, the enemy countries, or, I should think, the neutral countries."

"The composition of such a court," continued Lord Simon, "is not going to be an easy matter, for when you have created this novel tribunal, you still have to face the question of what is the code of law which it is going to apply. I think myself, as a man who has spent a good deal of his life in the practical business of the law, that one of the greatest difficulties of all, which I dare say to a layman seems comparatively unimportant, would be procedure; for the procedure which is understood and followed in a British Court is completely unlike the methods which are followed elsewhere. Before your Court can even start you have to decide what your procedure is going to be."

Members of the American Society of International Law, at the May meeting in 1943, were no less "court-minded" than the House of Lords. Charles Cheney Hyde, professor of International Law and Diplomacy at Columbia University, declared that "the problem now confronting the Allied Powers bent on meting out due punishment to the miscreants of the present war is truly complex," and then went on to prove it. The solution, as he saw it, demanded "faithful consideration of the following matters: (a) the obtaining and preservation of convincing evidence of guilt of all alleged wrongdoers; (b) agreement, if possible, as to tests of wrongfulness or criminality that are to be applied by such court or courts as are to be utilized; (c) the treatment of individual actors (especially of minor rank or rating) who did what they did under orders from superior authority; (d) the personnel, character and place of sitting of tribunals; (e) the imposition of penalties on guilty persons; (f) the scope of the categories of persons to be subjected to trial."

In one respect, however, Professor Hyde differed radically from Lord Simon. While convinced that there must necessarily be a court or courts, he expressed himself in favour of neutral judges, holding that they would "command greater respect for decisions adverse to the claims and defences of accused persons."

Edwin D. Dickinson, Dean of the School of Jurisprudence of the University

of California, following Professor Hyde, ventured the hope that proceedings would be "based on international law." Another of his hopes was that "we shall be a little conservative. There will be enough cases on the calendar. We need not be too embracing in seeking to bring cases within the ambit of penal proceedings. I would suggest at the outset that we not only resolve to proceed for violations of international law, recalling, of course, that principles of criminal law generally accepted among the different nations are a proper source of international law, but that we also limit our projected calendar of war crimes to cases in which the evidence is sufficient to establish the violation without serious question and in which the violation has been of such brutality and ruthlessness, unrelated to the requirements of military necessity, as to make to the satisfaction of all decent and right-minded people a reasonably clear case of violation of the laws and customs of war as they have been known and accepted these many generations."

One man only—Charles Warren—rose to voice vigorous dissent from these legalistic points of view. Unfortunately for public opinion, his statement was embalmed in the journal of the Society, receiving little or no mention in the daily Press. More clearly than any other who has yet written or spoken, Mr. Warren, himself an international lawyer of distinction, put aside a lifetime of training, and charted a simple, uncomplicated course for the United Nations in its judgment of German criminals. Every word went to the mark with the speed and certainty of a bullet.

"At the end of the war," said Mr. Warren, "we are promised speedy and effective punishment of those guilty of shocking and flagrant violation of hitherto accepted methods of war among civilized nations. The objective is not merely to punish but to discourage future leaders of any country from again indulging in such crimes against civilization. We are not going to get any such effective punishment of war criminals, or any such discouragement, if we allow the matter to be entangled in all the questions of jurisdiction and constitution of legal tribunals, the location and composition of such tribunals, and methods of proof and procedure.

"If we are to have punishment which will be effective, it must be obtained through direct affirmative action by the victorious Powers, and *not* by resort to the law courts whose actions will unquestionably be so long delayed as to lose all effect on the public mind of Germany and of the world. We are dealing with officers of a State who not only have violated the regulations of The Hague Convention but the laws of humanity—officers who do not recognize, either between States or individuals, any law of courts or treaties but only the law of brutal force and the uncontrolled will of the State. To such men it will be useless to apply the ordinary methods of judicial procedure prevailing among civilized peoples.

"Therefore punishment, at least of the leading war criminals of Germany, should not be relegated to the courts, but should be provided for directly by agreement of the victorious States. The right to punish is not a right conferred upon victorious belligerents by international law, but flows from the fact of victory. As Professor James W. Garner stated in his *Recent Developments in International Law*, 'it makes no difference whether or not international law has hitherto recognized the right to trial by an international tribunal of persons guilty to such violation. It is simply a question of policy and expediency, to be exercised by the victorious belligerent or not, accordingly as he may judge whether considerations of retributive justice or its moral effect upon the mind of belligerents in the future may make it desirable'. In other words, the question is purely political and military; it should not be treated as a judicial one or as arising under international law.

"The armistice or treaty should expressly provide, first, that any German official, military or civil, who in time of war has ordered or permitted with

full knowledge the perpetration of an act of wanton cruelty or violation of civilized methods of warfare, is guilty of a crime against the laws of humanity and of civilization; and, second, the armistice or treaty should cite, specifically by name, those leading German officers, military or civil, who have been guilty of such crimes against the laws of humanity. Since their identity is now established and since clear proof already exists of their guilt, the armistice or treaty should by its own terms adjudge them guilty and should determine their punishment, without the need of further proof or trial; and the surrender of the persons of the guilty should become a condition to the signing of any armistice or treaty. Even if this should not fully accomplish the desired end, it would at least place the stigma of infamy on permanent and emphatic record before the world.

"As to persons other than those specifically proscribed, who should be accused of crimes against the laws of humanity or of violations of the rules of war, the armistice or treaty should provide that an international military tribunal or tribunals should be established for their trial, with power to determine their guilt on such proof and forms of proof and such methods of prosecution as the tribunal may deem sufficient, and with further power to proceed to make such determination if Germany shall, after demand, fail to deliver to the tribunal for trial the persons of such individuals, and with further power to prescribe the punishment of those found guilty.

"Germany should be required, under heavy penalty for failure, to surrender and deliver to the victorious States all persons proscribed specifically in the armistice or treaty itself, and to surrender and deliver all other persons who may be demanded for trial by the military tribunals, if such persons shall be within the territory or under the control of Germany. Provision should also be made that, if such persons shall have escaped or shall escape into the territory of a State not signatory of the armistice or treaty, the signatory States shall endeavour to obtain the surrender, deportation and delivery of such persons through forceful representations as to the duty of such States to aid in the enforcement of peace and the maintenance of civilized standards of laws, or by the negotiation of new and adequate extradition treaties, providing for such surrender."

Mr. Warren's recommendation with respect to the Master Criminals, whose guilt stands established, may seem revolutionary, and yet it has a notable precedent. Napoleon Bonaparte was judged by the Powers long before Waterloo, and branded as an outlaw to be punished without further ado when captured. His sentence to St. Helena was not the outcome of a trial, for that had already been held at a time when he was still at the head of victorious armies.

There is, of course, no comparison between the Corsican and the Hitlers and the Himmlers. Whatever the world wreck caused by his limitless ambition, Napoleon's wars were waged with full regard for accepted military conventions and the laws of humanity. In no single instance was his treatment of conquered territories marked by the barbarities commanded by Hitler, Mussolini, and Tojo. This is attested by the conduct of the Allies at the time of his abdication on 4th April, 1814. Although banished to Elba, he was given the title to the island in fee simple, together with an annual revenue of two million francs, and an equally handsome allowance for the maintenance of his horde of relatives. Members of the Imperial Guard escorted him to the port of embarkation, and some four hundred personal attendants accompanied him into exile.

The sentence of outlawry pronounced against him, after his return from Elba, was in no sense an arraignment for war crimes, but solemn recognition of the fact that Europe could know no peace as long as Napoleon Bonaparte remained at large. "In reappearing in France with schemes of disturbance

and destruction," declared the Allied Powers on 13th March, "he has deprived himself of the protection of the law and manifested to the face of all that there can be neither peace nor truce with him. Therefore, the Powers declare, in consequence, that Napoleon Bonaparte has placed himself outside all relations, civil and social, and that, as enemy and disturber of the peace, he has delivered himself up to public vengeance."

A formal treaty, signed on 25th March, 1815, extended this ban to all of Napoleon's followers. Rising in the House of Lords in answer to questions, the Earl of Liverpool explained that the Treaty of Fontainebleau had as its "fundamental principle and main object the dissolution of the government of Bonaparte," and that by his return to France he had "fundamentally violated the agreement." Continuing, the Earl declared "we found that no treaty concluded by the person was observed for a moment longer than it suited his convenience—that every engagement entered into by him was violated—that he was a man whom no success could satisfy and no disappointment could indispose toward that system of aggrandizement upon which his mind was bent, and which was evidently inconsistent with the tranquillity and general liberty of Europe.

"Thus, it is evident that neither friendship nor submission could disarm the purpose or arrest the arbitrary views of this individual. . . . From the whole of his acts, indeed, it was obvious that the desire of power, a thirst for domination, formed this person's predominant passion, to which every consideration of morality and good faith was unreluctantly sacrificed. It was impossible then for Europe to look to such a man for the observance of any treaties or contracts. No degree of friendly adherence or even servile submission could conciliate his fidelity or gratify his ambitions."

Lord Castlereagh, in the House of Commons, likewise supported the position of the British Government, in holding that Napoleon had already been adjudged and condemned, and that the manner of punishment was the one and only thing left for decision. In the peroration of a notable speech he arraigned Napoleon in these words: "Let his conduct be contemplated in peace, in war, in adversity and in prosperity, and it would disclose an unrelenting system, an active exertion to disturb the tranquillity of all countries . . . of unceasing activity against the peace and happiness of the world."

In the eyes of the Allied Powers, therefore, Napoleon was a fugitive from justice when he fled the stricken field of Waterloo and the high-piled dead in the sunken road of Ohain. The Great Gambler himself had no doubt as to his status, for he planned escape to America where he felt sure that sanctuary would be offered. Leaving Malmaison on 23rd June, he reached Rochefort only to find that H.M.S. *Bellerophon* blocked all outlet from the harbour. Flight prevented, out of his dark brooding the fallen Emperor decided on a dramatic gesture, and addressed this letter to England's Prince Regent:

Exposed to the factions that distract my country, and to the enmity of the greatest powers of Europe, I have ended my political career, and come, like Themistocles, to appeal to the hospitality of the British people. I put myself under the protection of their laws, and beg, Your Royal Highness, as the most powerful, the most persevering, and the most generous of my enemies, to grant me this protection.

Captain Maitland received Napoleon with all due honours, and sailed for Plymouth where he dropped anchor and waited to be informed of the will of the Allies. English statesmen were much disturbed by the Corsican's bold action. The Earl of Liverpool, writing to Lord Castlereagh, expressed deep regret that the Emperor had not been "shot or hanged by the French as the best end of the business," but their determinations were not changed. On

2nd August, Great Britain, Russia, Austria and Prussia issued a joint statement in which sentence was pronounced in these curt paragraphs:

"Napoleon Bonaparte, being in the power of the Allied Sovereigns, their Majesties have agreed . . . upon the measures most proper to render all enterprise impossible on his part against the repose of Europe. . . .

"Article I.—Napoleon Bonaparte is considered by the powers to have signed the Treaty of 25th March last as their prisoner.

"Article II.—His custody is especially entrusted to the British Government. The choice of the place and of the measures which can best secure the object of the present stipulation are reserved to His Britannic Majesty.

"Article III.—Provided that Russia, Austria and Prussia 'are to appoint commissioners to proceed to and abide at the place which the Government of His Britannic Majesty shall have assigned for the residence of Napoleon Bonaparte and who, without being responsible for his custody, will assure themselves of his presence'."

Sir Charles Bunbury, an Under-Secretary of State, then notified Napoleon officially of the Allied action, stating that the British Government felt that "it would be inconsistent with our duty towards our country and the Allies of His Majesty, if General Bonaparte possessed the means of again disturbing the repose of Europe. It is on this account that it becomes absolutely necessary he should be restrained of his personal liberty so far as this is required by the foregoing important object."

Without delay Napoleon was transferred to the *Northumberland*, and taken to St. Helena, where British jailers watched him, waking and sleeping, until death signed his release.

What need to go further when the case is made? Nothing stands more clear than that international law has no place in the discussion of Master Criminals, ruled out by its own silences. The right to punish flows from the fact of victory, and the victors are without other restraint than a decent respect for the opinion of mankind. Justice is still justice even when stripped of blindfold and leg-chains. America, by putting the saboteurs before a military tribunal, turned away from the delays and technicalities of civil courts, a frank confession of their inadequacy. Russia has already followed the American example; and the sooner it is declared *standard procedure*, the better. Poles, Czechs, Belgians, Norwegians and other outraged peoples are not likely to huddle patiently outside court-rooms while lawyers argue changes of venue, continuances, and the admissibility of evidence.

In the matter of Nazi hierarchs, the judgment of Napoleon points the way for decisive action by the United Nations. Mr. Warren steps up to high, firm ground when he says that "since clear proof already exists of their guilt, the armistice or treaty should by its own terms adjudge them guilty, and should determine their punishment without the need of further proof or trial." But why twiddle thumbs until the armistice or treaty? There *is* clear proof of the guilt of the Hitlers, the Mussolinis, the Himmlers, and the Goerings. Why not call a meeting of the United Nations, and proclaim sentence of outlawry *now*? If Bonaparte "placed himself outside of all relations, civil and social, and stood self-delivered up to public vengeance," what may be said of mass murderers whose crimes and tortures are their boast?

To brand them as fugitives from justice, whose execution only waits on capture, is the one sure way to guard against the Day of Little Hatchets and Long Knives. An added value is that it will put an end to the clamour of

the legalists and sentimentalists, two classes that, from time immemorial, have done more to obstruct justice than all others.

CHAPTER XII

WHAT OF THE GERMAN PEOPLE?

WHEN THE "CRIMINALS" shall have been hanged or imprisoned, what then? Is no punishment to be visited on the German people? The millions who voted Adolf Hitler into power at free elections, carried out his orders and acclaimed his massacres and rapine? As in 1918, will the world be naïve enough to establish finespun distinctions between the gang leaders and the gang? Between the planners and the instruments, the head and the hands? Will those who gloried in themselves as the Master Race be left at large until other "medicine men" stir their innate blood lust to fever pitch?

There is danger of it. Before the ink was dry on the Treaty of Versailles, and while Belgians and Frenchmen hunted in ruined homes for their dead, America rang to a chorus of pity for the "poor Germans". To-day, with conquered lands knowing every horror of enslavement, there is a definite movement to have it believed that Hitler's organized savagery does not represent the popular will. American correspondents bear witness that German citizens, without urging or official order, killed and tortured Jews no less enthusiastically than did the Storm Troopers. It was not only Brown Shirts who fed the bonfires at the time of the "book burning", but university students. Occupied countries stress the cruelty of the *individual* German as well as the ravage of armies, and report small difference between soldiers and civilians. All of this is either minimized or ignored.

Plays and films, applauded by packed houses, exploit the courage and heroism of a German underground movement. *There is no such movement.* There never has been. Poles, Czechs, Dutch, and French are resisting to the death—each day new thousands are thrown into unmarked graves—but not from a single authoritative source is there word of any such resistance in Germany. Those that might have dared were killed or jailed at once, and it was a whole people that *helled* either hysterically or submissively when the Fuehrer cried Obey.

Sentimentalists, of course, are chiefly to blame. Acceptance of atrocities as a fact brings unhappiness, even agony of mind and spirit. To feel the horror of concentration camps, torture chambers, and mass executions—*really* feel them—is to be thrown into emotional chaos. How much simpler to dismiss them as "propaganda lies". And, too, there is no greater fertilizer for the ego than this affectation of Bigness and Breadth.

The sentimentalists, however, have their helpers. Many of the German refugees in the United States and England have no larger conception of democracy than Hitler himself. Their quarrel is with the Fuehrer, not with the conditions that produced him: with Nazism, not militarism and Pan-Germanism. Many most vocal to-day played a prominent part in the overthrow of the Weimar Republic, and still refer plaintively to the "infamous Treaty of Versailles" as a complete excuse for every German crime.

In this connection, some interesting angles are offered by the case of Herman Rauschnig, author of two books devoted to an *exposé* of Hitler and his gang.

While now a bitter enemy of the Fuehrer, Dr. Rauschning did not resign his important post until 1934, and then only because of differences over administrative problems in Danzig. Up to that time he sat in amiable conferences with Hitler, Himmler, and Goering. Moreover, at the time of his resignation, he announced his "willingness to accept any other post, provided gauleiter Foerster would, as president, accept full responsibility for the government". The following quotation from *The Voice of Destruction* develops his point of view still further:

"A gauleiter (whose name I do not wish to mention because he is one of the naturally decent party members, and may therefore in a coming downfall of the régime still play an important part) told me quite frankly that he had no choice but to make use of the same methods. If he did not, he would very soon not only be deprived of his position, but above all instantly murdered. He gave me the friendly advice to acquire incriminating evidence about my opponents, for instance, gauleiter Foerster. The moment I had this in my hands, I might regard my position as assured. Without it, I was eternally condemned to a subordinate position. Incriminating material and property abroad—these alone made one invulnerable. He, at any rate, had both, and he was planning to send his wife abroad, as she could best watch his interests there."

Here was a man who, by his own confession, practised blackmail, and who, inferentially, served the Fuehrer with every appearance of loyalty, and yet Dr. Rauschning regards him as one who may, in the coming downfall of the Nazi régime, *play an important part in the reconstruction of Germany.*

Prince Hubertus zu Löwenstein, another refugee now availing himself of sanctuary in the United States, protests his loathing of Hitlerism in every speech and article, yet never fails to work in adroit arguments against military occupation or any dismemberment of the German Empire. "Under the shadow of foreign bayonets," he pleads, "no democracy strong enough to stand on its own feet can develop." After the overthrow of Hitler, the "good Germans" can be counted on to restore law, order, and the decencies that have been outraged for years. "Germany should consist of those regions which are genuinely German." As an indication of such regions, the Prince stoutly insists that Austria must remain a part of the Empire.

There is, of course, something to be said in extenuation of the credulity of the sentimentalists, and for that matter, the credulousness of Americans as a whole. Even to-day, after three years of war, there is no understanding of the Germans as a *people*. Never at any time have American leaders or scholars considered in any detail the *teaching* that moulded the mind of a nation. Teachings, as stated in the Foreword, taken in with mother's milk, and burned into consciousness throughout infancy, adolescence, and adult life by school-teachers, professors, poets, philosophers, historians, rulers, soldiers, and statesmen. Not sporadically, but steadily and systematically, generation by generation, until convictions of superiority and supremacy dominated the nation's thought and action; convictions so ruthless that death was the penalty for dissent.

Now and then a traveller, back from Germany, cried his warning that a whole people were being inoculated with the virus of hate and violence, but he was only ignored or derided. Before the eyes of the world, German teachers became drill masters, and every German school a drill hall in which students were taught to regard love of peace as decadent, and to look on war as both necessary and ennobling. The change from a patriotic conception of national unification to a grandiose vision of universal empire was made boldly, heralded by the great shout, "*Weltmacht oder Niedergang!*"—"World power or downfall!" Equally open was the establishment of a distinction between public morality and private morality, so that the crimes of an individual became the virtues of a State, thus

providing an ethical base for treaty-breaking, conquest, and pillage. Let it be said again that German liberals fought nobly against these monstrous perversions, but death and exile were their portion.

The systematic poisoning of a people began far back with the seizure of power by the Hohenzollerns, but it will suffice to consider only the last century and a half, when princes first recognized the value of professors and philosophers as stooges. For purposes of quick understanding, Johann Gottlieb Fichte is a good starting-point. In 1807, at a time when Napoleon's victories had crushed Prussia's spirit as well as Prussia's armies, this philosopher put his abstruse speculations to one side, and burst forth with a series of tribalistic addresses that had the fierce beat of a Sioux war-drum. Looking about him at the welter of German states, all weak from incessant quarrelling, Fichte saw national unification as a first need. The four kingdoms, the six grand-duchies, the five duchies, and the seven principalities must be welded into a dynamic whole, with Prussia as the head and heart. Driving straight to this goal, he took Kant's "obligations of duty" as a text, and preached the creation of a single all-powerful State, divine in its attributes and supreme in its authority. *"The new education must consist essentially in this, that it completely destroys freedom of will in the soil which it undertakes to cultivate."* Regimentation not just for a class, but for the nation as a whole, "simply as such and without excepting any of its individual members".

Having driven home this conception of the State as a living thing, above the doubts and dissents of mere men, Fichte went on to develop the theory that Germans, as the one original, uncontaminated race, were a Chosen People. "In the preceding addresses we have indicated and proved from history the characteristics of the Germans as an original people, and as a people that has the right to call itself simply the people." Continuing in this strain of arrogant nationalism, the Great Ego, as Goethe called him, dismissed other races as indisputably inferior by reason of their mongrelization, and warned against all things foreign as debasing. These points established, it followed logically that Inferior Peoples should be brought under the domination of the Superior People. Such subjugation, of course, entailed war, but what of it? *"Between States there is no right or might except that of the stronger."* War waged with Unconquerable Will, everything staked on the outcome.

Naturally enough, the old-fashioned virtues had no place in such a scheme of things, and Fichte was at pains to heap contempt on humanity and honour, denouncing the very words as "alien", and calling on all Germans to define them as "slackness and unworthy conduct". Shamelessly, in view of his early liberalism, he went on so far as to urge ill faith and hypocrisy, declaring that "a State, even when on the very point of making war, should solemnly assert its love of peace and its aversion to conquest."

Better than anyone else, Fichte knew that many of his mandates would arouse dissent and even abhorrence. Germans, as a whole, might be counted on to see the necessity of creating an all-powerful State, but as a deeply religious people they were bound to recoil from doctrines that preached brute force, aggression, and treachery as rules of life. What he did, therefore, with rare subtlety, was to provide his programme with a *moral* base. Because the German, he argued, "has hitherto brought to completion all the steps of culture, and has been preserved in the modern world for that purpose, it is the plain duty of the Chosen People to impose that culture on other and inferior peoples. . . . To compel men to a state of right, to put them under the yoke of right by force, is not only the right but the sacred duty of every man who has the knowledge and the power. He is the master, armed with compulsion and appointed by God."

Small wonder that Fichte's words fell like healing balm on the raw wounds of German pride. A Chosen People, the only people possessing a culture, and

with proper acceptance of regimentation and goose-stepping as national necessities, an Invincible People. Strong meat, but the humiliated and unhappy Germans wolfed it down to the last fragment. Of even greater importance, Baron Stein, virtual dictator of the bankrupt Prussian state, had the vision to put Fichte's theories into practice, backing Scharnhorst and Gneisenau in the creation of a national army based on universal service. There was an explicit agreement with Napoleon that the Prussian army should be limited to forty-two thousand men, but this was evaded by training one body of men after another until the entire youth of the nation were ready to act as a skilled and disciplined force. (An example followed faithfully in 1919.)

As a result of Blücher's victories, Germans recovered self-esteem to a point where all were sublimely convinced that the War of Liberation had been won solely by German arms. It was in this period of national joy and pride that another famous thinker decided to follow Fichte's example, and make philosophy a stooge for militarism. It may not be denied that Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel held high position, for while his works still remain unintelligible, this very unintelligibility made powerful appeal to the German mind, always infatuated with muddles and mysticism.

Hegel, for the most part, sounded no new note, but merely elaborated the doctrines of Fichte. The State was to be accepted as the Absolute, and Order must always take precedence over liberty. Lauding Germans as the Pure Race, the Master Race and an Invincible People, he supported the Fichtean theory of a Superior Morality by this line of specious reasoning: A Hero Nation need respect no law, human or divine; Germany is a Hero Nation; therefore, Germany need respect no law, human or divine.

Hegel, not Bismarck, first coined the phrase, "Blood and Iron", holding that Germany's hope of unification and domination lay in "the violence of a conqueror". Christianity, as he saw it, was "a moral failure" because it had no root in national institutions, and could not, therefore, produce a living development of national character. Loathing democracy, he rejected flatly "the ancient ideas of the personal participation of every freeman in the general government". As for Jews, the State must be a unit, comprising only individuals of the same racial origin.

Despite Fichte and Hegel, there were still voices of independence in Germany, men in love with freedom of body and soul; but when a student assassinated Kotzebue, apostle of reaction, steps were taken to crush the spirit of revolt once and for all. In 1819, a meeting of German ministers authorized the infamous Carlsbad Decrees, abolishing freedom of the Press, establishing a new and rigid control over the universities to prevent "revolutionary propaganda", and setting up a central commission, vested with inquisitorial powers, to crush liberalism once and for all. Hegel, a liberal himself in his earlier years, applauded these decrees to the echo, and in his *Philosophy of Right* (1821) made new and even more bitter attacks on reform, reformers, and democracy.

There can be no question of Hegel's influence on German thought. Will Durant, in his *Story of Philosophy*, bears testimony that he "ruled the philosophic world as indisputably as Goethe the world of literature and Beethoven the realm of music". Applauded and decorated by Friedrich Wilhelm III, and hailed as the "nation's official philosopher", medals were struck off in his honour, and eager thousands came from every part of the land to drink in his advocacy of the State as an absolute and transcendental force. No man did more to foster the shackles of regimentation on the German people. Only Schopenhauer lifted his voice in bitter dissent, damning the doctrines of nationalism, and flaying Hegel as an "intellectual Caliban" who fawned that he might prosper. The one result was Schopenhauer's own relegation to complete obscurity for a full quarter of a century.

Fichte and Hegel, ignorant of military science, necessarily confined themselves to exhortation. Unfortunately, they were followed by a great soldier who laid down exact rules for putting all of their preachments into practice. *Vom Kriege* (On War), the collected writings of General Carl von Clausewitz, published by his widow in 1832, the year after Hegel's death, raised an enduring structure of militarism on the foundations laid down by the philosophers. All Prussia, led by the King and his military advisers, received the commandments of *Vom Kriege* as though they had come down from Sinai, and ways and means of putting them into effect became a fixed habit of German thought.

What Clausewitz did, essentially, was to divest war of its tribal traditions, its hell-bent-for-glory trappings, and preach it as a cold-blooded business, a necessary part of German statesmanship, "the execution of a given policy by force". Again and again he stressed the point that "the political goal is the end, and warfare the means leading to it. . . . We see, therefore, that war is not merely a political act, but also a real political instrument, a continuation of political commerce, a carrying out of the same by other means." Total war may be claimed by Hitler as an original conception, but it was first preached by Clausewitz, for in his opening chapter he declared that "Violence arms itself with the inventions of art and science. . . . Self-imposed restrictions, almost imperceptible and hardly worth mentioning, termed usages of international law, accompany it without essentially impairing its power."

Hitlerian ruthlessness also traces back to *Vom Kriege*: "Now, philanthropic souls might easily imagine that there is a skilful method of disarming or subduing an enemy without causing too much bloodshed, and that this is the true tendency of the art of war. However plausible this may appear, still it is an error which must be destroyed; for in such dangerous things as war, the errors which proceed from a spirit of benevolence are precisely the worst. As the use of physical force to the utmost extent by no means excludes the co-operation of the intelligence, it follows that he who uses force ruthlessly, without regard to bloodshed, must obtain a superiority, if the enemy does not so use it."

To Clausewitz must also go full credit for conceiving *Blitzkrieg*, the Lightning War: "The more a General takes the field in the true spirit of War, with the feeling and the idea, that is, the conviction, that he must and will conquer, the more he will strive to throw every weight into the scale in the first battle; hope and strive to win everything by it. . . . We must, therefore, declare ourselves completely opposed in principle to the dependence of the chief attack on minor attacks, and we maintain that an attack directed to the destruction of the enemy which has not the boldness to shoot, like the point of an arrow, direct at the heart of the enemy's power, can never hit the mark." Small wonder that Hitler refers to Clausewitz as the "incomparable", for all of his campaigns have been carried on in faithful obedience to the rules laid down in *Vom Kriege*.

The Nazi drive against France through Belgium followed the injunctions of Clausewitz in detail: "To seek for the great battle, as proscribed, and deliver it with such a relation, in point of numerical strength and under such circumstances, as promises a decisive victory, is the course for the chief Commanders to follow; to this object everything must be sacrificed, and as few men as possible should be employed in sieges, blockades, garrisons, etc. . . . Once the great victory is gained, the next question is not about rest, not about taking breath, not about considering, not about reorganization, etc., etc., but only of pursuit of fresh blows wherever necessary, of the capture of the enemy's capital, of the attack on the armies of his allies, or of whatever else appears to be a rallying point for the enemy."

No question that *Vom Kriege* lighted a great fire that blazed throughout the length and breadth of Prussia. First the *Will* as supplied by Fichte and Hegel, and now the *Way* as charted by Clausewitz. German liberals, however, viewed the flame with dismay, and sounded a call to action while resistance

still had the hope of success. The "revolution" of 1830 was without avail against the reactionary government of Prussia, but popular uprisings forced the granting of constitutions in Hanover, Brunswick, Saxony, and Hesse-Cassel. Brief indeed was this blaze of the democratic spirit, for after a short time all concessions to liberalism were withdrawn, and autocracy was restored.

Inspired by the revolution in France, where the monarchy had been overthrown and a republic declared, 1848 saw all Europe rise in a desperate effort to be free of chains. Popular movements shook the thrones of Spain and Portugal; in Italy a frightened king granted numerous reforms; and successful revolutions in Vienna, Hungary, and Bohemia brought about the downfall of reactionary Metternich, and lifted the black shadow of Hapsburg absolutism. In Prussia, weak Friedrich Wilhelm IV quailed before the determination of Berlin insurgents, and lesser German princes were also cowed, with the result that a call went out for a national parliament to meet in Frankfort in May.

Time-wasting wrangles soon ended the bright hope of a federated German state with a liberal constitution, for every man had his own pet scheme for ushering in the millennial dawn. Austria, aided by Russia, put down revolt in Hungary and Bohemia, and Friedrich Wilhelm, recovering from his fright, "restored" order in Prussia by force of arms and repressive laws.

Revolt suppressed, and all liberals either dead, exiled, or cowed, a broad way was opened for the advent of Otto von Bismarck, as much the creation of Fichte and Hegel as though they had fathered him. Throughout his active life, he deified the State as the supreme authority, high above the will of the masses, and accepted unquestioningly the Clausewitz dictum that war was the only fit instrument for the achievement of a political policy. From the date that he entered public life in 1847, Bismarck had as his compelling purpose the unification of Germany under Prussia's sole and undisputed leadership. Made minister-president and foreign minister in 1862, Bismarck saw a clear road before him, for Wilhelm I, the new ruler, was also one who believed in a God of Battles, in divine right.

As a first step to a united Germany, with Prussia at its head, he brought to an issue the question of supremacy between the great houses of Hapsburg and Hohenzollern. Working with the subtlety commended by Fichte, Bismarck overwhelmed Austria with protestations of friendship, and by 1864 had manoeuvred Vienna into a position where the two countries formed an alliance for a raid on little Denmark. Schleswig-Holstein and Lauenburg were easily wrested from the Danes, and brought under the rule of the conquerors, both pledging their sacred honour not to change the joint ownership except by mutual consent.

Bismarck, by his own confession at a later date, had no thought of respecting the bargain, for with Fichte he held that treaties were made to be broken when self-interest demanded. Secret conversations with Louis Napoleon won an agreement that France would not aid the Austrians when Germany attacked, and Italy was also induced to pledge neutrality. By 1866 Bismarck was ready, and Moltke, following Clausewitz to the letter, struck with a suddenness and fury that won swift victory. The Hapsburgs humbled and no longer a factor in German affairs, Prussia stood forth as undisputedly dominant over the Teutonic races. Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg became purely Prussian provinces, and Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, and the free city of Frankfort were annexed and incorporated into a North German Confederation that recognized Wilhelm I as overlord.

Under the terms of the secret deal with Louis Napoleon, Bismarck had promised aid in extending French frontiers, and no sooner was the armistice signed than the Emperor asked for the left bank of the Rhine, and also expressed his desire for Belgium and Luxembourg. These demands, duly communicated

to the South German States, resulted in gaining their consent to an offensive and defensive alliance with Prussia, paving the way for a "common war against a common enemy". Thus prepared, Bismarck precipitated incidents that angered France, and as a last touch, deliberately changed the meaning of a telegram in such manner as to make war inevitable. The outcome was never in doubt, and Sedan saw France prostrated under the German heel. On 8th January, 1871, ten days before the capitulation of Paris, the German states gathered in the great Hall of Mirrors at Versailles, and on motion of Bavaria, ancient enemy of Prussia, Wilhelm I was proclaimed emperor of *all* Germany. Ironically enough, the unity that had been the dream of centuries was brought about by the least German of all the German states, for the Prussians were more that half Wendish and Slavonic. A wave of national exultation, however, left no room for captiousness. Three victorious wars in swift succession! Austria humbled, France crushed, and Schleswig-Holstein, Alsace and Lorraine rich spoils! Who now so blind as not to see that the Germans *were* a Superior Race, a Chosen People, called by a God of Battles to rule the world?

Two historians, in particular, ministered to Germany's megalomania, giving new force to the national conviction of superiority and supremacy. Wilhelm von Giesebrecht, in his *History of the German Emperor-time*, and Johann Droysen, in his *History of Prussian Politics*, not only thrilled but guided, for they provided a foundation for the dream of universal empire by discovering and recovering the imperial eras of Germany's existence. A tremendous picture drawn on a tremendous canvas. Charlemagne, true German and no Frank, crowned by Pope Leo III in St. Peter's and hailed as emperor and *augustus* by all Europe, even Haroun-al-Raschid making obeisance from far Baghdad by forwarding the keys to the Holy Sepulchre! The Ottonides, an imperial line headed by that Otto the Great who unified Germany with his sword, humbled both the French and the Magyars, and following in the path of Charlemagne, took first the iron crown of the Lombards, and then the imperial diadem itself from the hands of a suppliant pope! Otto II, Otto III, and Otto IV, all kings of Germany and emperors of the Holy Roman Empire!

Under the colourful touch of Giesebrecht and Droysen, the Hohenstaufens were exhumed, and made to live and reign again. Friedrich Barbarossa, he of the red beard, who crushed proud Poland, reduced Denmark to vassalage, forced submission on the Burgundian nobles, and when crowned in Rome, rebuked the Pope by haughty assertion that he held the Empire from God alone! Henry VI, his son, who put forward his claims to universal empire as "Lord of all lords, king of all kings"; Friedrich II, Barbarossa's grandson, undisputed master of all Germany, king of Jerusalem, king of Sicily, king of Lombardy, king of Burgundy, and emperor of the Holy Roman Empire!

Page after page, like tapestry unrolling, brought Germany's imperial age back into German consciousness—that grandiose age when the Ottonides and the Hohenstaufens walked the world as Alexanders—and from every page came the cry, "Where is your pride, O Germans, that you do not realize your greatness, and march again to the fulfilment of your destiny?"

CHAPTER XIII

THE HIGH PRIESTS OF HATE

WHERE FICHTE, HEGEL, Clausewitz and the Romanticists left off, Heinrich von Treitschke took up. Driving home all that they had taught, his own original contribution was the manufacture of hate. Not the vulgar emotion that breeds antagonism in little minds, but a vast and overpowering passion that would leave room for no other thought or feeling. Frustration and envy made majestic, and lifted to high place among the virtues. Hate of peace, hate of small weak nations, hate of democracy, hate of Christians and Jews. To the creation of this hate he brought an amazing talent for inflammatory statement and mordant phrase.

Politician, orator, historian, Treitschke was no less powerful on his feet than in print. Crowds packed the Reichstag when he spoke; disciples came from all parts of Germany to hear his lectures, and his books were required reading. Young men destined to be leaders followed him as the youth of France followed Abelard; his pronouncements on public policy determined public opinion, and after his death in 1896 his works became the Bible of German patriots. Lord Vansittart, in *Lessons of My Life*, records that Germans "drank Treitschke like fish, and went about with inflamed faces and annoying hang-overs." Professor Kantorowicz, a distinguished scholar, bears testimony that "Treitschke exercised a dæmonic and immeasurable influence on the spirit of Bismarckian Germany and the Germany of Wilhelm II." Even the conservative *Encyclopædia Britannica* admits that Treitschke "did more than anyone to mould the minds of the rising generation, and he carried them with him even in his violent attacks on all opinions and parties which appeared to be injurious in any way to the rising power of Germany."

Like Hegel and Fichte, the State—all powerful and to be obeyed without question—was Treitschke's favourite theme, and like Clausewitz, he saw war as the one way to the greatness of the State. All other peoples were to be despised and conquered when opportunity offered. Peace was derided as the Great Illusion, any mention of pacifism shamed as a confession of weakness, and page after page in his book was given over to the glorification of war, conquest and pillage. "It has always been the weary, spiritless and exhausted ages which have played with the dream of perpetual peace. . . . War must be taken as part of the divinely appointed order."

"A nation's armed force is its Will to Life," he thundered, and not to advance with that life was to die. Let the sword be drawn! Sound the war drums! Was it not Frederick the Great who said, "He is a fool, and that nation is a fool, who having the power to strike his enemy unawares, does not strike and strike his deadliest?" What stupidity to endure the persistence of small nations, their independence and impertinence, and to sit idle while decadent powers pre-empted places in the sun that were Germany's by virtue of might and superior intelligence!

Kant and Herder, great voices of an earlier day, had advocated universal peace and even a League of Nations to provide some civilized substitute for the horror and violences of war. Treitschke addressed himself directly to the correctness of these fallacies: "Our people," he fulminated, "must learn to see that the maintenance of peace never can or may be the goal of a policy. . . . It must not only be conscious that in momentous questions which influence definitely the entire development of a nation, the appeal to arms is a sacred right of the State, but it must keep this conviction fresh in the national consciousness. The inevitableness, the idealism, and the blessing of war, as an

indispensable and stimulating law of development, must be repeatedly emphasized."

Over and over, with all the persistence of a tribal chant, he preached the glory and inevitability of conflict. "Not only the life of man, but also the right and natural emotions of his inmost soul, his whole ego, are to be sacrificed to a great patriotic ideal; and herein lies the moral magnificence of war. . . . Every student of history knows that to do away with war would be to mutilate human nature. . . . War is just and moral, and the ideal of eternal peace is both unjust and immoral, and impossible. . . . Between civilized nations, war is the form of litigation by which States make their claims valid. . . . War is the one remedy for an ailing nation. The grandeur of war lies in the utter annihilation of puny man in the great conception of the State, and it brings out the full magnificence of the sacrifice of fellow-countrymen for one another. . . . The historian who moves in the world of the real Will sees at once that the demand for eternal peace is purely reactionary. He sees that all movement, all growth would disappear with war. . . . But it is not worth while to speak further of these matters, for the God above us will see to it that war shall return again, a terrible medicine for diseased mankind."

Not only did Treitschke glorify war, but he went far beyond Clausewitz in his advocacy of ruthlessness: "In the business of war men must not regard the massacres, the burnings, the battles, and the marches, etc.; that is what the petty and simple do who only look with the eyes of children at the surgeon who cuts off the hand or saws off the leg, but do not see or notice that he does it in order to save the whole body. . . . In the case of a modern national army, the *duty of sparing men* is entirely swallowed up in the higher duty of annihilating the enemy."

Taking his cue from Fichte, Treitschke also dilated upon the advantages to be won by trickery and bad faith: "One state," he wrote, "cannot hamper the exercise of its free will in the future by an obligation to another state. The state has no supreme judge placed above itself, and therefore it concludes all treaties with that mental reservation. . . . Now every sovereign state has the unquestionable right to declare war when it so desires, and therefore it is possible for every state to cancel its treaties."

A master propagandist, Treitschke never made the mistake of trusting to generalizations, no matter how forceful. Having argued the divinity of the State, the ignobility of peace and the necessity and magnificence of war, he drove directly to a fixed point and a definite purpose: that point and that purpose being the annexation and absorption of small states and the defeat and destruction of such great states as stood in the way of Germany's rise to world power. All other peoples were jeered at and reviled, but chief object of attack was the British Empire. Like implacable Cato who cried each morning, "Carthage must be destroyed," so no day passed that Treitschke, his swart face convulsed by passion, did not lift his hands against England, and demand the Empire's destruction.

There was the "enemy of enemies", the insensate stone that blocked Germany's climb to her proper place in the sun. Who and what were these lords of empire? A nation of shopkeepers sprawled over one-fifth of the globe, while the Germans, instinct with the genius for empire, sat cribbed, cabined and confined by the Baltic, the Danube and the Rhine! A stupid, swinish lot, long incapable of making any worth-while contribution to human advancement, and not to be compared to Germans, a provedly superior race that led the world in art, science, learning and culture!

And how had the "porcine British" established control over one-fifth of the habitable globe? By theft, treachery, craft and, above all, by cunning ability to exploit the valour of other peoples. Was it not Prince George of Hesse-Darmstadt who won Gibraltar for them? Was it not Darnley who

saved the day at Blenheim although Marlborough stole the credit? And who but Blücher and his Prussians came to the rescue at Waterloo when Wellington, like Cæsar in the Tiber's wintry flood, cried in his fear, "Help me, or I sink!"

And how did the Robber State maintain title to its stolen territory and treasure vaults packed with loot from many lands? By pure arrogance and German supineness! Sapped of strength by centuries of ease, wealth and undisputed power, what so plain as that the British Empire was now no more than an empty shell, waiting for the day when Germany would realize her might, and crush it under heel? An empire rotted to the foundation stones, as was Venice and Byzantium! An empire dependent on alliances, conscious of the loss of its own strength! Cowards forced to hire their armies!

What better proof of decadence than British pleas for disarmament and British bleats about the beauties of world peace? A thief, grown rich, invoking the protection of law! A spectacle no less grotesque than when imperial Rome, decadent and fearful, sought to avert capture and pillage by persuading Alaric that war was not a proper way of life. A caricature of Empire, hated by her colonies, all misruled, as proved by the unrest in Asia and Africa, and centuries of rebellion in Ireland!

Dogs in a manger! An empire gone senile, a people gone soft, yet continuing to strut as a world power. Useless, superfluous, yet blocking the way of a superior people ready and eager to lead the world to undreamed-of heights. Once the British Empire may have been a reality, deserving of power by reason of ability to wield it, but who so blind as not to see it now as a "sham" for which there is no room in a world governed by valour and the Will to Power. Let it be remembered how the Goths, conquerors of Rome, raised Alaric on their shields, and resolved "rather to seek new kingdoms by their own labour, than to slumber in peaceful subjection to the rule of others."

Hate of the Jew was another Treitschke commandment. Although Edward Lasker and Ludwig Bamberger, Jewish leaders of the National Liberal Party, had been a power in helping Bismarck to accomplish German unity, they made the mistake of persisting in their demand for constitutional reform. In 1879, therefore, Treitschke fomented anti-Semitic agitations on a country-wide scale, whipping Germans into a frenzy of racial intolerance as a cover for his drive against democratic heresies.

Repeatedly, viciously, he attacked Jews as "a dangerous, disintegrating force" by reason of their ability "to assume the mask of any other nationality." And how was the German nation to be cleansed of Judaism? Having put the question, Treitschke gave the answer: "I can see only one means by which the end can be attained, and that is to arouse an energy of national pride, so real that it becomes a second nature to repel involuntarily everything which is foreign to the Germanic nature. This principle must be carried into everything; it must apply to our visits to the theatre and to the music-hall as much as to the reading of newspapers. Whenever he finds his life sullied by the filth of Judaism the German must turn from it, and learn to speak the truth boldly about it. The party of compromise must bear the blame for any unsavoury wave of anti-Semitism which may arise."

"Once a German always a German" was another of Treitschke's favourite themes. "The further duty of supporting the Germans in foreign countries in their struggle for existence, and of thus keeping them loyal to their nationality, is one from which, in our direct interests, we cannot withdraw." Quite frankly, however, he confessed that this was a difficult task in the United States, where the tendency was to become Americans rather than stay Germans. "There can be no question at all that human civilization suffers loss every time that a German is turned into a Yankee." His remedy was to turn the stream of German emigrants "into lands where they run no danger of losing their

nationality." As proof of his farsightedness, he was the first to point out the advantages of South America as a field for German colonization, specifically mentioning Brazil as a territory where German nationality could remain "quite intact".

Even with all Germany in the grip of a passionate nationalism as the result of three victorious wars, Treitschke realized, as did Fichte, that radical departures from Christian morality needed justification or, at least, a heavy coat of gloss. His bold and subtle mind, therefore, addressed itself to a complete readjustment of popular conceptions of right and wrong, honour and dishonour. "We must distinguish," he argued, "between public morality and private morality. The order of rank of the various duties must necessarily be for the State quite other than for individual men. A whole series of these duties, which are obligatory on the individual, are not to be thought of in any case for the State. To maintain itself counts for it always as the highest commandment; that is absolutely moral for it. The injunction to assert itself remains always absolute."

Growth was a law of nations no less than a law of life. To stand still was to invite decay and death. The ruler who failed to extend his power, regardless of the means, must stand accused of a crime against God and the people. For timid souls, fearful of war and conquest, there was the consolation that only in the Great State could thought, art, poetry and noble action find full expression. Weakness must always be regarded as contemptible, and since small states are weak, small states are contemptible. "Brave peoples alone have an existence, an evolution or a future; the weak and cowardly perish, and perish justly."

Even these excerpts—from the seventeen volumes of Treitschke's output—although carefully chosen, fail to give a completely adequate idea of his passionate nationalism, his appeals to all that was violent in German nature, his insistence on war and conquest as a hallowed road to German greatness, and his genius as a propagandist. It must also be said again that he was not one of many voices, but *the* voice of Germany. No English or American writer ranks with him in point of influence, neither Carlyle, Macaulay, nor Emerson, all of whom, by the way, he derided and despised.

Friedrich Wilhelm Nietzsche was another who dinned into German ears between 1872 and 1888, his working period. He was hopelessly insane at forty-four and spent the last eleven years of his life in a madhouse, and all of his writings were marked by fury, incredible egotism and savage contempt for all civilized teaching. Though dwarfed by Treitschke during his lifetime, fame coming after death, he had a following, and his influence on the generation was in no sense negligible. Disdaining the subtleties of Fichte and Hegel, and contemptuous of Treitschke and his plausibilities, Nietzsche charged with headlong violence against everything that peoples had been taught to cherish and hold dear.

"Let your labour be fighting and your peace victory. You say that a good cause hallows even war. I tell you that a good war hallows every cause. . . . Ye shall love peace as a means to new wars, and a short peace better than a long. I do not advise you to work, but to fight. . . . When the instincts of a society ultimately make it give up war and conquest, it is decadent; it is ripe for democracy and the rule of shopkeepers."

The Will to War, the Will to Power, and the Will to Overpower constituted the essence of his philosophy. Democracy to him was merely "a mania for counting noses," and where Treitschke walked softly when approaching Christianity, Nietzsche assailed it as teaching cowardice and servility. Fichte went no further than to exempt the State from the moral code that governed individuals, but Nietzsche declared a *Herrenmoral* for the masters, and a *Herdenmoral* for the masses. All hail to the Overman, a law to himself, and

contemptuous of social control: "What has he to do with contracts who comes on the scene with violence in deed and demeanour?" Away with ethics, for "the highest evil is part of the highest goodness. . . . Shopkeepers, Christians, cows, women, Englishmen and other democrats belong together."

Greatest of Germans, cried Nietzsche, were the robber barons who revolted against Christianity and asserted force and savagery as "masculine virtues". All hail to these Overmen, "free from every social restraint; in the innocence of their wild-beast conscience, they returned as exultant monsters from a horrible train of murder, incendiarism, rapine, torture, with an arrogance and compromise as if nothing but a student's freak had been perpetrated." What tragedy that these sublime Overmen should have been ruined by the Reformation and "inter-marriage with inferior stock"!

By way of interjection, Nietzsche now occupies highest place in the Nazi pantheon. The *Nietzsche-Archiv* in Weimar is a shrine to which Hitler himself repairs, bending his knee in homage; and not only are the works of the Master printed and reprinted, but all Germany is flooded with interpretative books and articles designed to prove that Nietzsche was a sort of John the Baptist for the Fuehrer. As Crane Brinton points out in his acute biographical study, Hitler's build-up of Nietzsche necessitated vigorous editing, for the mad philosopher hated the German of his day no less heartily than he did the Briton.

Mark his views on the Pure Race: "The Germans may well be the most mixed of all peoples. . . . Let anyone look upon the face of the Germans. Everything that had manly, exuberant blood in it went abroad. Over the smug populace remaining, the slave-souled people, there came an improvement from abroad, especially by a mixture of Slavic blood. . . . What a blessing the Jew is among the Germans. See the obtuseness, the flaxen hair, the blue eye and the lack of intellect in the face, the language and the bearing . . . the Jews are beyond all doubt the strongest, toughest and purest race now living in Europe. . . . Definition of the Teuton: obedience and long legs. . . . The present-day Prussian is one of the most dangerous enemies of culture. . . . The presence of a German retards my digestion. . . . The Germans lack all notion of their own viciousness, and that is the extreme of viciousness."

Charles Francis Adams, one of America's most impartial minds, had this to say of Treitschke and Nietzsche after careful reading of their output: "It is the absolute negation of everything which in the past tended to the elevation of mankind, and the installation in place thereof, of a system of thorough dishonesty, emphasized by brutal stupidity. There is a low cunning about it, too, which is to me in the last degree repulsive."

Paul Anton Lagarde, a distinguished orientalist, was another who made specific contribution to the madness of the day, urging a "true German religion" to take the place of "weak and morbid Christianity". Not God but Wotan! Not Christ but Thor! Not Heaven but Valhalla! Not vestal virgins but the Valkyries! Read Rosenberg, Hitler's high priest, and it will be seen that he has appropriated all of Lagarde's arguments in their entirety.

Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Richard Wagner's son-in-law, also merits attention, for his *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* was enthusiastically commended by the Kaiser, and played no inconsiderable part in the formation of German opinion. Although born an Englishman, he was more Teutonic than any Teuton, and outdid Fichte and Treitschke in his fulsome adulation of German virtues and hatred of everything non-Germanic. German genius was the keystone in the arch of civilization; all other peoples, particularly the Jews, were either mediocre or destructive; and just as he followed Lagarde in preaching racial purity, so did he imitate him in demanding the creation of a purely Teutonic religion.

Spurred into action by the commands of Treitschke and Nietzsche, a Pan-

German League came into being, frankly dedicated to war and conquest. With "Berlin to Baghdad" as its slogan, this purely militaristic creation boldly announced plans of territorial expansion that would give Germany her proper "place in the sun". Wilhelm II, catching the spirit of the day, began to strut the European stage as an Alexander, breathing threats and spouting the gospel of the philosophers and historians in support of a sudden assertion of "divine right".

In early 1900 a German expeditionary force sailed for China to aid in suppressing the Boxer Rebellion, and the Kaiser bade them farewell in these words: "As soon as you come to blows with the enemy he will be beaten. No mercy will be shown! No prisoners will be taken! As the Huns, under King Attila, made a name for themselves, which is still mighty in traditions and legends to-day, may the name of German be so fixed in China by your deeds that no Chinese shall ever again dare even to look at a German askance. . . . Open the way for *Kultur* once for all."

On this shrill, savage, megalomaniacal note ended a century during which hate, intolerance and violence had been sluiced daily into every well of German public opinion. And the result? In 1902, Germany scrapped its old war code, and a new manual, *Kriegsbrauch im Landkriege*, was issued for the instruction of army and navy officers, defining the rights and duties of armed forces engaged in hostilities and dealings with the enemy. In print, for all the world to see, the *Kriegsbrauch* revealed the extent to which the priests of Baal had won a people away from ancient faiths. Clausewitz himself might have written these commandments:

"War is not to be regarded as a contest between armed forces, but has as its one and only purpose the destruction of the spiritual and material power of the enemy country. Therefore the laws and customs of war (*Kriegsmanier*) must yield to the law of military necessity (*Kriegsraison*) whenever the observance of the law would prevent or hinder the attainment of the object of the war. It is not only permissible but ordered to destroy private property, to devastate systematically evacuated regions, to terrorize the civil population of invaded districts, to deport them for compulsory service in the enemy country, thereby releasing its own men for the army, to compel them to aid the enemy in the construction of fortifications and to dig trenches. . . . To conduct war with energy, it must be made not only on the combatant forces of a hostile State and its fortresses. *Equally strong endeavour must be made to destroy its entire intellectual and material resources.*"

In the application of this doctrine of "military necessity," the *Kriegsbrauch* nullified every important rule of warfare. It repudiated The Hague Convention that supplies taken by requisition from the enemy country should be paid for, and permitted the killing of prisoners of war if regarded as a danger to their German captors. Specifically, repeatedly, it authorized "all measures" which conduced to the attainment of the object of the war, saying that these "may be summarized in the two ideas of violence and cunning," which, it adds, can be formulated in the following proposition: "What is permissible includes every means of war without which the object of the war cannot be attained."

In warning against "excessive humanitarianism" the *Kriegsbrauch* followed Clausewitz to the letter: "But since the tendency of thought in the last century was dominated essentially by humanitarian considerations, which not infrequently degenerated into sentimentality and flabby emotion [*Sentimentalität und weiche Gefühlschwärmerei*], there have not been wanting attempts to influence the development of the usages of war in a way which was in fundamental contradiction with the nature of war and its object. Attempts of this kind will also not be wanting in the future, the more so as these agitations have found a kind of moral recognition in some provisions of the Geneva

Convention and the Brussels and Hague Conferences. By steeping himself in military history, an officer will be able to guard himself against excessive humanitarian notions."

CHAPTER XIV

WELTMACHT ODER NIEDERGANG

THE TRANSFORMATION OF Wilhelm II from constitutional monarch to War Lord still stands as conclusive proof of the power of Germany's "medicine men". The first years of the young ruler's reign were devoted to the cultivation of friendly international relations, and as his own ambassador of good will, he travelled untiringly from court to court. Russia, Italy, Denmark, and Turkey were visited by him, and yearly trips to London evidenced his strong desire for an *entente cordiale*. Many overtures to France also showed a disposition to erase the painful memories of Sedan. Treitschke, Nietzsche, and Lagarde, however, had done their work too well. Save for the Social Democrats, political parties condemned his conciliatory policies, insisting that England and France must be regarded as implacable enemies. This adverse public opinion, together with his autocratic temper and militaristic mind, soon led to the Kaiser's complete conversion. The name of Fichte began to figure in his speeches; Treitschke was lauded as "our great national historian"; and Chamberlain and Lagarde were quoted often and admiringly.

In rhetorical harangues that grew to be his passion, impatience with Reichstag opposition became increasingly manifest. "It is the soldier and the army, not parliamentary majorities and votes, that have welded the German Empire together. My confidence rests upon the army. . . . Considering myself the instrument of the Lord, without heeding the opinions and views of the day, I go my way." And that way was to war! As early as 1910, "the coming conflict" was discussed openly by the Pan-German League, the Defence Association, the Landowners' League, the Central Industrial Society, and a score of other chauvinist bodies.

Although things seemed to be going well, the chauvinists decided to take no chances, and ordered a new dose of poison. In 1911, therefore, General Friedrich von Bernhardi, a retired cavalry officer, writing with the approval of the Kaiser and the General Staff, published *Germany and the Next War*, and followed a year later with *Britain as Germany's Vassal*. Both works were no more than a re-hash of the gospel preached by Clausewitz, Fichte, Treitschke, and Nietzsche, and no less were they accepted by Germans as Holy Writ. As will be seen from the following quotations, Bernhardi, in slavish imitation of his predecessors, spared no effort to glorify war and conquest as imperative and ennobling:

"Strong, healthy and flourishing nations increase in numbers. From a given moment they require a continual expansion of their frontiers, they require new territory for the accommodation of their surplus population. Since almost every part of the globe is inhabited, new territory must, as a rule, be obtained at the cost of its possessors, that is to say, by conquest, which thus becomes a law of necessity.

"We must strenuously combat the peace propaganda. War must regain its moral justification and its political significance in the eyes of the public.

It is necessary that its high significance as a powerful promoter of civilization should become generally recognized. . . . In short, we must become convinced that a war fought for an ideal, or fought with the intention of maintaining one's position in the world, is not a barbaric act but the highest expression of true civilization.

"Might gives the right to occupy or to conquer. Might is at once the supreme right, and the dispute as to what is right is decided by the arbitrament of war. . . . And again, and ever again, it must be pointed out that we have no reason to be afraid of war if we act with our whole armed strength, if we do everything to be as strong as possible on the field of battle, and if we are determined to act *before Germany's opponents are ready*. . . . Our next war will be fought for the highest interests of our country and of mankind. This will infuse it with importance in the world's history. 'World power or downfall' [*Weltmacht oder Niedergang!*] will be our rallying cry."

At every point Bernhardt accepted unquestioningly the dogma of Fichte and Treitschke that the Germans are a Master People, an Original People, and necessarily to be guarded against deterioration. "It is equally important to prevent the mingling of the German race with members of an inferior race. It is of the greatest importance to Germany's future that the German race should be preserved in its purity, and we must not be over nice. We must not take too much notice of the possibility of international differences arising from an energetic national policy."

Repeating and re-emphasizing Treitschke's insistence that a German remains a German, Bernhardt wrote: "In the interest of the world's civilization it is our duty to enlarge Germany's colonial empire. Thus alone can we politically, or at least nationally, unite the Germans throughout the world, for only then will they recognize that German civilization is the most necessary factor in human progress. We must endeavour to acquire new territories throughout the world by all means in our power, because we must preserve to Germany the millions of Germans who will be born in the future."

Lest Germans should have failed to remember, Bernhardt took up in careful detail, and drove home, all of the commandments of those who wrote before him: "The study of the history of War will prevent officers forming views of exaggerated humanity. It will teach them that wars cannot be conducted without certain severities; that, rightly considered, true humanity lies often in their unsparing use." As for the sanctity of treaties, international agreements have only a "limited validity", for "no State can be expected to risk its existence for the sake of a formal treaty to which it has been a party, if it can maintain its existence by disregarding it."

With Bernhardt's books carrying the Kaiser's imprimatur, sabre-rattling became the loudest noise in the land, even children shouting *Deutschland über alles* and *Sieg Heil*. In the nation-wide demonstrations celebrating the centenary of the War of Liberation, every mention of *Der Tag* was wildly cheered, and as a foreigner observed, "an intoxication appeared to have seized the whole of Germany, a new intoxication of freedom, from what bondage no one knew".

When President Taft, in 1911, asked the world powers to join him in an agreement on arbitration as a first step in the direction of disarmament and world peace, Bethmann-Hollweg, the German Chancellor, answered that "the vital strength of a nation is the only measure of that nation's armaments". At The Hague it was the German delegates who blocked the adoption of any general arbitration treaty, and expressed the utmost hostility towards any limitation of a nation's right to wage war when it pleased or saw fit.

By way of giving emphasis to these defiances, the German military law of 1913 increased the German Army by one hundred and thirty-six thousand

officers and men, raising it to a total of eight hundred and sixty-six thousand men of all grades and services. It was originally offered as an excuse that Germany's ally, Turkey, had been weakened by the Balkan wars; but after 1914 Berlin alleged that the increase was merely a reply to the preparations of France and Russia. A comparison of dates proves that both simply followed Germany's example. The German military increase was first formulated in November, 1912, openly discussed in January, 1913, and finally passed 30th June. The French law for three years' service was formulated in February, 1913, by a cabinet alarmed at Germany's new plan, and passed 19th July of the same year. The Russian project was formulated in March, 1913, as a necessary reply to the German proposal. Social Democrats, during debates in the Reichstag, drove home these dates on every occasion.

Fast and faster became the Gadarene gallop, and in the years immediately preceding 1914 only the Social Democrats cried out against the delirium that possessed a nation. The success of the "medicine men" in maddening a whole people stands best attested by illustrative quotations. This from the mouth of Wilhelm Kahl, rector of the University of Berlin: "The boy in his play, the grey-haired man sitting at home in quiet thought, all are aflame for the reckoning with England. That for them is victory, and whether they get it or not, hate will further devour, and will be passed on to our children and children's children."

And this from the official organ of the Pan-German League: "The fateful day draws near. And even if the Twilight of the Gods be upon us, let it come in furious battle rather than in lingering sickness. . . . The longing for permanent peace is impossible of realization, and it has effeminizing tendencies. A just war is better by far. Nay, better even to fight and be beaten than never to have fought at all. . . . There is a smell in the air as of blood, and no one can know when and where the torch of war is going to flare up. But when the day comes, we will think of the times of our youth."

Even more illuminating are two editorials that show the temper of Germany's youth. In January, 1913, the *Jungdeutschland Post*, a weekly paper for juvenile readers, printed this appeal: "We Germans and Christians are also taught by honour and duty that there can be no peace for the souls of the dead or the living until a conflict is settled by the victory and triumph of our arms. . . . Pagan belief and Christian faith alike teach us that we should give our lives for our brothers, for our Fatherland, for our Kaiser and his Empire, for the victory of our arms, in order that there may be peace for the living and rest for the dead. Therefore war is the most sublime and most holy expression of human activity."

In October of the same year, *Jungdeutschland*, the voice of Young Germany, an organization corresponding to the Boy Scouts of England and the United States, burst forth in similar strain. Note how the clarion call to youngsters breathes the spirit of Fichte, Clausewitz, Treitschke, Nietzsche, and Bernhardt: "War is the noblest and holiest expression of human activity. For us, too, the glad, great hour of battle will strike. Still and deep in the German heart must live the joy of battle and the longing for it. Let us ridicule to the utmost the old women in breeches who fear war and deplore it as cruel and revolting. No, war is beautiful. Its august sublimity elevates the human heart beyond the earthly and the common. In the cloud palace above sit the heroes, Frederick the Great, Blücher, and all the men of action—the Great Emperor, Moltke, Roon, Bismarck, are there as well, but not the old women who would take away our joy in war. When here on earth a battle is won by German arms and the faithful dead ascend to heaven, a Potsdam lance corporal will call the guard to the door and 'Old Fritz' [Frederick the Great], springing from his golden throne, will give the command to present arms. That is the heaven of Young Germany."

And when the "glad, great hour of battle" did strike in 1914, mark this burst of exultation from Maximilian Harden, editor of *Die Zukunft*, acknowledged leader of German liberals, and a journalist who had won fame by his fearless exposures of vice and perversion in the Kaiser's intimate entourage: "Cease the pitiful attempts to excuse Germany's action. No longer wait to strangers, who do not care to hear you, telling them how dear to us were the smiles of peace we had smeared like rouge upon our lips and how deeply we regret in our hearts that the treachery of conspirators dragged us unwillingly into a forced war. . . . That national selfishness does not seem a duty to you, but a sin, is something you must conceal from foreign eyes. . . . Not as weak-willed blunderers have we undertaken the fearful risk of this war. *We wanted it*. Because we *had* to wish it and *could* wish it. May the Teuton devil throttle those whiners whose pleas for excuses make us ludicrous in these hours of lofty experience. We do not stand, and shall not place ourselves, before the court of Europe. *Germany strikes!* If it conquers new realms for its genius, the priesthood of all the gods will sing songs of praise to the good war."

Harden gave the pitch for a savage chorus that shook the nation. In no sense was it merely an answer to their country's call, an expression of patriotism, but a deep, full-throated approval of conquest as the object of war; conquest as a necessary step in Germany's march to world empire and universal dominion. (It is worth noting that Harden experienced a change of heart after the invasion of Belgium, but when he raised his voice in criticism, a mob dragged him through the streets, inflicting injuries from which he never recovered completely.) Speakers and writers were a unit in declaring that the struggle was one between the decadences of other peoples and the *Kultur* of which Germany was the sole guardian. Spiritual leaders figured largely in the cry of the wolf pack, and while hundreds of examples could be given, here is a typical utterance from Wilhelm, a distinguished Protestant pastor: "The German nation lords in the domains of culture, science, intelligence, morality, art and religion. . . . This war is a war of envy and jealousy of Germany's leadership."

Professor Werner Sombart, of the University of Berlin, spoke for the scholars when he screamed that "as the German eagle soars high above the beasts of earth, so must the German feel exalted above all surrounding peoples, and must look down upon them in their bottomless depths". It was also this same Professor Sombart, later on, who recorded his pride that German soldiers refused to shake the hands of British prisoners, kicking and cuffing them for daring to assume that men of the Master Race would stoop to camaraderie with "mongrels".

And hark to this incredible outpouring from Adolf Lassen, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Berlin: "A man who is not a German knows nothing of Germany. We are morally and intellectually superior to all, without peers. It is the same with our organizations and institutions. The European conspiracy has woven around us a web of lies and slanders. We are truthful, our characteristics are humanity, gentleness, conscientiousness, the virtues of Christ. In a world of wickedness we represent love, and God is with us. . . . The State can realize itself only by the destruction of other states, which, logically, can only be brought about by violence."

Through eyes aflame with hate and megalomania, Germans saw England removed from their path; France, Italy, Turkey, and even Austria-Hungary, reduced to suzerainties; Belgium and Holland annexed, Asia and Africa left helpless for the taking, and America to be dealt with at leisure. *Deutschland über alles!* Bethmann-Hollweg spoke truly when he made this sad admission in his memoirs: "I cannot be held responsible for the fact that military force is fanatically idolized by the German people as the sole solution for all the difficulties in the world." And Hitler himself, in *Mein Kampf*, confounded those

who denied Germany's war guilt by the flat statement that "the war of 1914 was not imposed on us, [but] was desired by all the German people".

One tremendous benefit flowed from it all. The military authorities, as power-drunk as the people, and no less confident of a "brisk and jolly war", committed blunder after blunder. Instead of confining the conflict either to the eastern or the western front, war was declared on both Russia and France.

The supreme mistake, however, was the attack on Belgium, for not only did it bring Great Britain into the war, but it aroused the indignation and anger of the whole Western World. Down to the very moment of the invasion of Belgium in violation of a solemn treaty—Bethmann-Hollweg's "scrap of paper"—the British were not disposed to intervene, for they had no alliance with Russia or France. In a death grapple with Great Britain, Germany's one possible hope of victory lay in unrestricted submarine warfare, and this forced the United States into the war in 1917.

Once in the field, German armies followed faithfully the policy of frightfulness commanded by Clausewitz, and so enthusiastically commended by Treitschke and Bernhardi. Not only arson, murder, pillage, and impoverishing fines laid upon towns, but the systematized destruction of industry and agriculture. Machinery, raw materials, finished products, livestock, and foodstuffs were "requisitioned"—this done with true German thoroughness; orchards were cut down and fields laid waste. As a final touch, a system of forced labour and deportation was put into effect in Belgium, Poland, and the occupied lands of France.

For proof, here is the testimony of Herbert Hoover, based on what he saw with his own eyes: "The Germans had erected battering rams, had destroyed and burned villages, had levelled everything to the ground, had gathered up all the agricultural implements and laid waste the fields . . . the sight of the destroyed homes and cities, the widowed and fatherless, the destitute, the physical misery of a people but partially nourished at best, the deportation of men by tens of thousands to slavery in German mines and factories, the execution of men and women for paltry effusions of their loyalty to their country, the sacking of every resource through financial robbery, the battering of armies on the slender produce of the country, the denudation of the country of cattle, horses, and textiles; all these things we had to witness, dumb to help other than by protest and sympathy, during this long and terrible time—and still these are not the events of battle heat, but the effects of the grinding heel of a race demanding the mastership of the world."

Here, too, is the testimony of Brand Whitlock, U.S. Ambassador to Belgium, also an eye-witness: "Over all this area, that is in the country lying about Vise, Liège, Dinant, Namur, Louvain, Vilverde, Malines, and Aerschot, a rich agricultural region dotted with innumerable towns, villages, and hamlets, a land of contented peace and plenty, during all that month of August [1914] there were inflicted on the civilian population by the hordes that overran it deeds of such ruthless cruelty and unspeakable outrage that one must search history in vain for others like them committed on such a prodigious scale. Towns were sacked and burned, homes were pillaged; in many places portions of the population, men, women, and children, were massed in public squares and mowed down by *mitrailleuses*, and there were countless individual instances of an amazing and shameless brutality."

Not a part, but a whole *people*, applauded and approved, and again the clergy joined in. Cardinal Bettinger, Cardinal Faulhaber's predecessor, not only held back from any condemnation, but came forward as one of the most fanatical advocates of ruthless submarine warfare. A priest and a member of the Reichstag sounded a keynote for his fellows when he gloried in the ravage by the German troops: "It is true," he said, "that our soldiers in France and Belgium

have shot all the brigands, men, women, and children, and that they have destroyed their homes. But to see in that anything contrary to Christian teaching is to show that one has not the least understanding of the spirit of Christ." Matthias Erzberger, great liberal and Catholic leader, made his contribution by stating publicly that "if it were possible to destroy the whole of London, this would be more humane than to allow a single German to bleed on the battlefield". By way of showing that Catholics and Protestants had no monopoly of patriotism, Lissauer, a Jew, wrote the Hymn of Hate that all Germany religiously intoned before breakfast.

The Left was no less chauvinistic than the Right, the entire Socialist Party forswearing its principles in support of the "holy war". Noske, their leader, shouted that "the Army is the Nation and the Nation is the Army"; and Heilmann, another pontiff of German Socialism, complacently wrote that "bombing by air is really an excellent way of terrorizing the civilian population behind the lines. Terror is a humane weapon in the conduct of war, since it is of such a nature as to shorten the conflict".

There was quite a pacifist movement in Germany, but when the war horns blew, Haase, their spokesman, raved no less wildly than the others. Stresemann, supposedly a great liberal, and winner of the Nobel peace prize in 1926, went beyond Bernhardi in demanding the annexation of small states and the utter subjugation of England and France. Before the war, Ernst Heinrich Haeckel enjoyed world fame as a biologist, a great scientist, but what did Dr. Haeckel think of the rape of Belgium? For the nation to hear, he delivered himself of this patriotic sentiment: "One single highly cultivated German warrior of those who are, alas, falling in thousands, represents a higher intellectual and moral life value than hundreds of the raw children of nature whom England, France, Russia, and Italy opposed to them."

A final test of German honour and decency came with the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, signed in March, 1918. By a stroke of the pen, Russia was stripped of a third of her population and tillable land, her oilfields in the Caucasus, 90 per cent of her coal mines, and a full 50 per cent of her industry. The richest parts of western and southern Russia were snatched by Germany, Austria, and Turkey; and, by way of a clean sweep, the Germans took over Poland, Lithuania, Courland, Livonia, and Esthonia. All this while Berlin was piously shouting: "Peace without annexations." And the treaty was ratified with only two dissenting voices, and hailed by the people as a proof that *lieber Gott* was with them.

Go through the literature of the war period, follow the Reichstag debates, the editorials in every metropolitan daily and rural weekly, and the sermons that thundered from every pulpit, and it will be found that a whole people were behind the Kaiser, even the children shrilling *Deutschland über alles* as they goose-stepped at play. Looking down from Valhalla, Fichte, Hegel, Clausewitz, Treitschke, Nietzsche, Bernhardi, and all the other priests of Baal, were well entitled to congratulate themselves upon a task discharged with true German thoroughness. A nation poisoned—and *loving* it.

CHAPTER XV

HITLER: WHY AND HOW

FOR FOUR LONG terrible years the armies of the Kaiser trampled Europe, enslaving Belgium and Serbia, and devastating the conquered areas of France and Russia. Four years of unparalleled savagery and rapine, and then, faced by the certainty of defeat, the Master Race quit and crawled! Hindenburg and Ludendorff asked for an armistice when their armies were still intact; the Kaiser fled to Holland before his country had been touched by any enemy foot, and the German people, hastily proclaiming a republic, went to the Peace Conference with the brazen plea that the "faults" of the old government should not be visited on the new. The crushing rejoinder of the Allies should have been cast in bronze, for no truer indictment was ever drawn!

"The German revolution was stayed until the German armies had been defeated in the field and all hope of profiting by war of conquest had vanished. Throughout the war, as before the war, the German people and their representatives supported the war, voted the credits, subscribed to the war loans, obeyed every order, however savage, of their government. They shared the responsibility for the policy of their government, for at any moment, had they willed it, they could have reversed it. Had that policy succeeded they would have acclaimed it with the same enthusiasm with which they welcomed the outbreak of the war. They cannot now pretend, having changed their rulers after the war is lost, that it is justice that they should escape the consequences of their deeds."

Even so, the terms imposed were milder than the Germans had dared to hope, and had they been accepted in good faith, the nation's return to stability and prosperity stood assured. Instead of that, the republic became the object of a people's hate, and they lost no time in working for its destruction. As Emil Ludwig, an acute observer, has pointed out, Germans "boycotted the Weimar constitution at once. The first political murders in Germany, which followed the World War, were committed ten years before the Nazi party came to power. The great Rathenau and another *Reichsminister*, Erzberger, as well as three others, were murdered between 1920 and 1922, right at the beginning of the republic. These murders were symbolic of the dislike for the republic by the overwhelming majority of the people. General sympathy was with the murderers. Highly cultured and well-educated people, professors, and even whole universities, joined in the hymns of hate and revenge."

Along with the overthrow of the Ebert régime, evasion and repudiation were definite goals. Stubbornly resisting all efforts to impose adequate taxes, the Reichstag plunged into an orgy of inflation that kept the printing presses on twenty-four-hour shifts. Lord Vansittart makes caustic mention of "the lavish expenditure of the German government, which paid out vast sums to German industry as a compensation for war damage, on the express understanding that the country's industry and transport should be modernized in the shortest possible time, and equipped with the latest technical devices so as to be put into a position to enter successfully into international competition." The industrialists, in many cases, changed their millions into foreign money, and then returned them at a later date in the form of devalued bank-notes. It was by this method that Hugo Stinnes piled up the greatest fortune in the history of Germany.

Alas was part of a master plan, as Sigrid Schultz makes clear in a remarkable study based on her observations as an American correspondent in Berlin from 1919 to 1941. "Germany's cleverest, most ruthless men, the German General

Staff, the top-ranking industrialists, and some of the most astute university professors came together with a strong common purpose; to form a cabal powerful and fanatic enough to make ready a new army and to sweep Germany to victory after a short armistice. . . . Our alleged unkindness at Versailles had nothing whatever to do with Germany's dedication to another war, and should that war fail, to still another."

A Black Reichswehr under the direction of General Fedor von Bock made a mock of the Control Commission set up by the Allies. All serviceable machinery was spirited out of factories to hiding-places, and vast stores of munitions were built up right under the eyes of the French and British. Not content with his progress at home, necessarily slow because it had to be secret, General von Seeckt entered into an arrangement with the Soviet Union by which entire army units were trained in Russia. Not only that, Russian factories and fields were furnished for the manufacture of aircraft and artillery, and the testing of planes and tanks.

Industry, finance, agriculture—all came under the direction of the German General Staff. Schacht, Thyssen, Krupp von Bohlen, Duisberg, and Bosch—bankers, steel, coal, and chemical kings—held themselves at the orders of the hard-faced, monocled men who planned a second World War. Inflation was merely a move in the game. Not only did it extinguish Germany's huge internal debt, but the middle and lower classes, with their savings wiped out, were excited to greater rage against the republic. No possible media were overlooked to exaggerate this hate, particular emphasis being placed on church and school. "Many ordained men of God," Miss Schultz records, "did everything they could to discredit the republic. During its brief lifetime I never heard a Protestant sermon that did not contain either a sly or open insult to the republic, coupled with a glorification of 'the old days when Germany was strong'."

Soap-box orators, able to influence the masses, were also used by the General Staff, and this was Hitler's first employment after discharge from military service. Put on the pay-roll of Crown Prince Rupprecht of Bavaria, it was his job to speak nightly in the working-class quarters of Munich, attacking Bolshevism and undermining popular confidence in the Weimar Republic. Dr. Tibor Eckhardt, leader of the opposition in the Hungarian Parliament until forced into exile by his anti-Nazi attitude, paints a striking picture of the Fuehrer in those early days of the movement.

"Back in 1920," relates Dr. Eckhardt, "I spent several hours with Hitler in a smoky Munich beer hall, heavy with the reek of beer and sausage. As one of the five organizers of the counter-revolutionary movement that overthrew Bela Kun's Red régime in Hungary, I was supposed to be something of an authority on anti-Communist tactics, and friends asked me to talk with Hitler and others who were being paid to combat the spread of Communism in Bavaria. With him, as I recall it, were Alfred Rosenberg, a frowsy student type, a Baron Scheubner-Richter, fatish and well-groomed, and a beetle-browed Cossack general by the name of Biskupski.

"With his comical moustache and faded trench-coat, Hitler was by far the least impressive of the quartette. Throughout the interview he sat hat in hand, hunched forward deferentially on the edge of his chair. If anyone had asked me about his future at the time, I would have said that he would never be more than a fetch-and-carry for abler men with secret ends to serve. As a matter of fact, the three refugees, not one of them a German, took entire charge of the conversation. Rosenberg, of Baltic origin, talked largely of the Pure Race and the necessity of a truly Germanic religion. Scheubner-Richter bemoaned the expropriation of his Baltic estates; and Biskupski cursed the Allies for not having given aid to the White Russians in their battle against the Reds.

"Hitler, twiddling his hat with nervous fingers, and never once raising his eyes from the floor, only put a question now and then about wages, trade unions, and labour problems in Hungary. At other times he kept silent except for certain mutterings when Bolshevism was under discussion. Not connected sentences, but single words such as 'filth', 'corruption', and 'impurity'. His ideology, if he had one, was primitive and confused, and if grandiose plans were in his mind, all were still yeasty and without definite shape. When I rose to go, more bored than entertained, Hitler thanked me profusely, somewhat in the manner of a waiter grateful for a tip."

What Doctor Eckhardt failed to see, as did the General Staff and the industrialists, was the burning ambition of the man, his fanatical belief in himself. Taking hold of a struggling, confused group called the "German Workers' Party", and imposing his leadership, he set his feet on the ladder that was to lead to supreme power. The field that he looked out on was made to order for his kind of ploughing. On the one hand a weak, harassed government, beset by unscrupulous enemies, and on the other a people so drilled in regimentation that the responsibilities of democracy were abhorrent. Even more than that, a people who sat amid the shards of shattered illusions—worshippers of Baal deserted by their god. As a first task, the Austrian fanatic ministered to a nation's deflated ego, and restored it to abnormality. Pointing out that other countries had been ravaged while not one foot of German soil had been touched, he cried his message that Germany had not been defeated but *betrayed*. Betrayed by the money-changers, "parliamentary criminals" and above all by the "accursed Jews"! Less elegantly than the major prophets, but no less forcefully, he shouted that "in comparison to these traitors to the nation, every pimp is a gentleman." The Germans *were* a Master Race; they *were* a Chosen People, and by following Adolf Hitler it was in their power to become an Invincible People with iron heel on the necks of all other peoples.

In hospital during the war for "hysterical blindness", the emotional unbalance of the schizoid proved an asset, for Hitler's frenzy was a flood that swept fluid souls before it. A madman, but one with the cunning of the fox as well as the savagery of a wild boar, for not only did he inflame national vanity to its former bursting-point, but showed a way to escape the sacrifices imposed by the Versailles pact. Just as he screamed that Germany had not been defeated but betrayed, Hitler drove fanatically against the Peace Treaty, urging its repudiation. An infamous document—"Germany's destruction"—and as long as it weighed on the German people, "every promise of economic recovery is a fraud." The men who signed it were "criminals, scoundrels, and grave-diggers". Rushing from hall to hall with "frantic energy", he called upon the people to deny and defy a "monstrous injustice" that entailed their enslavement.

"Who does not yet recognize that France and England had first to make us so defenceless in order to be able to make us outlaws . . . and who finally is even to-day still so childish and so innocent as not to see that this England, which with methodical diabolism hunts Ireland's people to death in eternal revolutions, and has extirpated half of it in less than eighty years; which cheats and exploits India, the old Culture State, which God knows was certainly not militaristic, and threatened the freedom of the small nations; that this France finally, which in the name of culture dragged hundreds of thousands of black Africans to the European battlefields, and even to-day forces them, as the bearers of a higher civilization, on the Rhenish culture as henchmen; even to-day who is so crazy as to believe that from slave-drivers anything but slavery can be expected?"

Murder and rape were favourite themes, and in every speech he made it seem that these outrages were commanded by the Treaty: "In the most critical

hour of our people . . . practically abandoned by all the world, made defenceless by our own fault, we have to watch France setting out to occupy new territories, while African negroes rape our women and children, while in Upper Silesia bands of Polish murderers and arsonists slaughter German workers."

Repudiation on the grand scale, not only of the indemnity, but of all debts. Why pinch to pay foreigners? His unscrupulous demagoguery stopped at nothing, for cynically counting on popular ignorance, he dared to compare the Versailles pact with the "humane, just, and gentle" Treaty of Brest-Litovsk. His denunciations of the Allied peace terms rang to high heaven, yet in *Mein Kampf* he gave this as his own conception: "A peace supported not by the palm branches of tearful pacifist professional female mourners, but founded on the victorious swords of a people of overlords, which puts the world into the service of a higher culture."

The Weimar Republic was no less an object of attack, first because it was democratic, and second, because the men at its head had agreed to the Treaty. "Pimps, thieves, burglars, deserters, duty shirkers!" Foaming like an epileptic, he alternated between screams of rage and throat-racking sobs. Accursed Republic! It was a "Jewish democratic swindle," just as the League of Nations was a "Jewish world fraud." Over and over in his harangues, he insisted that the ultimate cause for the ruin of the Old Reich was "non-recognition of the race problem." It was the Jews who had "polluted the bloodstream of the Pure Race," the Master Race, and all this despite the known fact that his own father was illegitimate and a sot, and his own first cousin hunchbacked and imbecilic. "Bow-legged, disgusting Jewish bastards!" In his fury he even revived and sponsored the discredited Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion, brought to him from Russia by Alfred Rosenberg.

His methods to-day were his methods then. With "brutal ruthlessness," to use his own words, he swept aside all who stood in the way of his climb to power. Refusing to recognize either loyalty or honour, he trampled friends underfoot and took money from enemies who thought to use him. Small wonder that he grew to have implicit confidence in human gullibility, for in earlier years conservatives, great industrialists such as Fritz Thyssen, Krupp von Bohlen, Hugo Stinnes, and even Jews financed him. Despising the masses, nevertheless it was to the masses that he appealed, and always to the baser emotions.

Voices of protest were crushed by his Storm Troops, recruited from ex-soldiers unfitted for peace after four years of arson and pillage, and still remembering the great days when they used French and Belgian châteaux for latrines. A gangster himself at heart, one of his greatest pleasures was in watching his gangsters work, and in *Mein Kampf* he frankly admits his responsibility for their brutalities: "In those days how did the eyes of my boys shine when I made clear to them the necessity of their mission, assuring them again and again that all the wisdom in this world will remain futile if force does not enter into its service, defending it and protecting it; that the mild Goddess of Peace can march only side by side with the God of War."

It was never proved that Hitler had direct connection with the murders of Erzberger and Rathenau, but the violences that he preached were undoubtedly responsible for the crimes that robbed Germany of her two greatest men. The former, in particular, was the object of incessant attack for having signed the Treaty of Versailles. It is known, however, that Hitler spoke at a meeting held in honour of Klintsch, a low creature accused of complicity in the death of Erzberger, shouting that only "the republican mind of guilt-conscious small rascals" condemned assassination.

The purge of 1934, in which he directed personally the killing of Ernst Röhm, Edmond Heines, and many others, was excused on the ground that

perverts and homosexuals were shaming the Party. This in face of the fact that for ten years these degenerate had been his intimates, indulging their vile habits in his very presence, and that he had defended their practices against innumerable attacks. Hitler himself, for that matter, was not unsuspected of abnormal relationships, for no less an authority than Konrad Heiden reports that Father Bernard Stempfle was assassinated for having knowledge of a letter that the Fuehrer had written to his niece. Even Goering could not stomach Julius Streicher, the rape fiend and sadist, but Hitler held the beast in admiration and affection. And none of these things were unknown to the German people when they gave him his majorities at the polls.

Due to the weakness and irresolution of elected leaders, it is highly probable that Hitler's genius in exploiting mob ignorance and mob emotion would have carried him to the top in any event; nevertheless, the fact stands clear that he was powerfully aided in the doubtful first years by outright allies in England and the United States. Whenever the heads of the Weimar Republic attempted to answer his attacks, all that he had to do was to call leaders of British and American opinion to the witness stand, and sit grinningly while they went far beyond his own violence in condemning the Peace Treaty as a cruel and inhuman document that doomed the German people to servitude for generations.

Politicians, as usual, were primarily responsible, but at their back stood a motley of historians, "pundits", parlour radicals and "intellectuals", leaping at the chance to show that they were sufficiently Big and Broad and Bold to put concern for a beaten enemy above any mere national interest. What more emotionally exhilarating, and where a shorter cut to prominence? As loudly as Hitler himself, these *ersatz* Zolas screamed that the Allies, instead of keeping faith with "poor Germany", had given free rein to their hates.

Safe assertions, for not one in a hundred thousand could reel off the Fourteen Points, and not one in a million had ever read the armistice provisions or the Treaty itself. As a consequence of the clamour raised by politicians and Bold Souls, a distinct pro-German sentiment developed on both sides of the water. In America it resulted in the adoption of an isolationist policy that carried on into President Roosevelt's third term; while in England it served as a base for the appeasement programme that had its disastrous finale in Munich.

For purposes of illustration, nothing serves better than *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* by J. M. Keynes, now Lord Keynes, and one of England's leaders. (Also close to the New Deal, and largely responsible for many of its fiscal policies, principally the theory of "deficit spending" as essential to mass prosperity.) This book, endowed with scriptural value by Hitler and his gangsters, expressed a view strongly favourable to Germany. It was Keynes who declared that the Allies had repudiated a solemn covenant, and that in "numerous particulars the treaty is objectionable". Keynes, looking at the matter from the point of view of an economist, protested most strongly against Germany being expected to pay forty billions of dollars, against what he called "the policy of reducing Germany to servitude for a generation, of degrading the lives of millions of human beings, and of depriving a whole nation of happiness. . . ."

France was rebuked for her avarice. As for Belgium, public opinion had exaggerated her sufferings: she "played a minor rôle" after 1914, the actual area of devastation was "a small proportion of the whole", and hostilities after 1914 were confined to "a small corner of the country, much of which in recent times was backward, poor, and sleepy, and did not include the active industry of the country." Poland and Czechoslovakia excited his anger by their presumption to national existence. "Poland," he sneered, "is to be strong, Catholic, militarist, and faithful, the consort, or at least the favourite, of victorious France, prosperous and magnificent between the ashes of Russia

and the ruin of Germany. Roumania, if only she could be persuaded to keep up appearances a little more, is a part of the same scatter-brained conception." Serbia had suffered greatly, but her economic development was low. Italy and Greece were treated no less slightly.

It was economically undesirable that France should be permitted to recapture Alsace-Lorraine and exercise suzerainty over the Saar Basin; the Danzig corridor for Poland and the action of the Poles and Czechs in assuming control of the Silesian coalfields would create unworkable conditions.

With the claims of France, Belgium, Serbia, Greece, and Italy drastically reduced, and the absurd pretensions of Poland and Czechoslovakia wiped out entirely, the next step in Mr. Keynes' programme was to turn Russia over to "German enterprise and organisation". To quote him, "It is in our interest to hasten the day when German agents and organisers will be in a position to set in train in every Russian village the impulses of ordinary economic motive." Another important remedy was the establishment of a free union of countries "undertaking to impose no protectionist tariffs whatever against the produce of other members of the Union. Germany, Poland, the new States which formerly composed the Austro-Hungarian and Turkish Empires, and the mandated States, should be compelled to adhere to this Union for ten years."

In short, Mr. Keynes proposed to have the treaty give Germany what Germany failed to win by war. The "greedy, jealous and immature" small states, having won freedom by blood and sacrifice, were to be handed over to Germany in the sacred name of economics. The German dream of *Mittel-Europa* in its essence, for Keynes' list of countries was precisely the list enumerated by the Pan-Germans in their grandiose plan for giving Germany the economic mastery of Central and South-Eastern Europe.

Not once throughout his whole book did he utter one word of condemnation for Germany or one word of sympathy for England's allies. Almost tearfully he quoted German writers in describing the pitiful plight of German children, but nowhere does he mention the children of France, Belgium, Poland, Serbia, and Italy, or set down the terrible toll taken by Germany's policy of deportation and forced labour.

This analysis of *The Economic Consequences of the Peace* could be continued for pages, each filled with very similar statements, but let it be brought to an end by consideration of two of the book's principal "remedies". First, the restoration of Germany to her pre-war status, minus colonies, navy, and merchant marine. A rich, powerful Germany, *cut off from the sea*, might become a menace to the *Continent*, but not to the British Empire. The second "remedy" proposed by Mr. Keynes was that the United States should cancel the ten billions owed by the Allies, backing it up by this blithe threat of repudiation: "On the one hand, Europe must depend in the long run on her own daily labour and not on the largesse of America; but, on the other hand, she will not pinch herself in order that the fruit of her daily labour may go elsewhere. In short, I do not believe that any of these tributes will continue to be paid, at the best, for more than a very few years. They do not square with human nature or agree with the spirit of the age." . . . "It might be an exaggeration to say that it is impossible for the European Allies to pay the capital and interest due from them on these debts, but to make them do so would certainly be to impose a crushing burden. They may be expected, therefore, to make constant attempts to evade or escape payment, and these attempts will be a constant source of international friction and ill-will for many years to come. A debtor nation does not love its creditor. . . . There will be a great incentive to them to seek their friends in other directions, and any future rupture of peaceable relations will always carry with it the enormous advantage of escaping the payment of external debts."

What more could the Germans have asked? Condemnation of the Peace Treaty, so cruel and inhuman as to deprive them of all hope of happiness, and then a ringing appeal to repudiate their debts. Nor was it the single voice of Keynes. The Bold Souls and sentimentalists in England and the United States made the book their Bible, and endorsed every one of its commandments as though they had come down from Sinai. "Poor Germany."

The wonder is that the pathetic Weimar Republic, committed to the fulfilment of the Treaty, lasted as long as it did. When unhappy Ebert died of his weaknesses in 1925, the people voted solidly for eighty-year-old General Hindenburg, that epitome of Junkerism whose proudest boast was that he had never read a book. Re-electing him, although all knew that he was far advanced in senility, the German people did not even wait for the doddering old man to die before giving themselves over to fanatical adoration of Adolf Hitler, apostle of hate, declared foe of every democratic principle, and the Mahomet who would lead them in another Holy War.

CHAPTER XVI

THE FACTS IN THE CASE

IF WE ARE not to be duped again, let time be taken for full consideration of German lies that fooled the world, enabling a guilty people to go scot free, and even cozening public and private loans with which to prepare for another war. Of the many, only these four need be subjected to analysis: (1) That Germany was betrayed, not defeated; (2) that she did not surrender unconditionally; (3) that she was not permitted to plead her case; (4) that the terms imposed by the Allies were cruel and intolerable. There is a record, fortunately, that gives the answer to every lie.

Germany was not betrayed but *defeated*; and that her armies were not crushed and her cities laid waste was due entirely to an abject capitulation. The Kaiser's first losing gamble was when he let himself be convinced by Admiral von Tirpitz that unrestricted U-boat warfare would end the struggle before the United States could swing into decisive action. The second was Ludendorff's gigantic offensive in 1918. It failed and left him with reserves exhausted and a shattered morale. By his own confession, "August 8th was the black hour of the German army, in the history of the war. . . . It puts the decline of our fighting power beyond all doubt". The Kaiser was urged then and there to enter into peace negotiations while conditions could be asked, but he shrank from going to his people with a confession of defeat.

On 9th September, Ludendorff insisted again that an armistice be requested, but no action was taken. Heavier and faster fell the blows of the British and the French, and on 21st September the Americans erased the St. Mihiel salient and crashed through on a front from the Meuse to the Argonne. As Hindenburg records in his memoirs: "It was plain that the situation could not last. Our armies were too weak and too tired, moreover the pressure the American masses were putting on our most sensitive point in the region of the Meuse was too strong."

Now came the collapse of the Bulgarian, Turkish, and Austrian fronts, and on the 28th Hindenburg and Ludendorff sent imperative word that there

must be no further delay in asking an armistice, as the German front could not hold, and Franco-American forces would and could drive through to Berlin. Convinced at last, a plea for peace went forth to President Wilson on 4th October.

In an exchange of notes—8th, 12th, and 14th October—President Wilson made it clear that no arrangement could be accepted that did not provide "absolutely satisfactory safeguards and guarantees of the maintenance of the present military supremacy of the armies of the United States and the Allies in the field". He insisted also on having further guarantees of the representative character of the German Government. As a result, Prince Max of Baden, the Imperial Chancellor, rushed through changes that democratized the German Constitution, limiting the prerogatives of the Kaiser and reducing the power of the military authorities. On 23rd October the President wrote that in view of Germany's explicit acceptance of his proposals, he had communicated the correspondence to the Allied Powers. Armistice terms were submitted on 8th November, and after study by the Germans, signed on 11th November.

These dates give the lie to the "stab in the back" theory, for it was not until 28th October, three weeks after Hindenburg and Ludendorff had confessed defeat, that revolution broke out in Germany. That was the day when the crews of the German fleet refused to weigh anchor. Riots followed the arrest of the ringleaders, the revolt swept from city to city, and on 7th November the Majority Socialists demanded the abdication of the Kaiser and Crown Prince. From Spa in Belgium, where he had fled on 29th October, the Kaiser telegraphed his abdication, and immediately sought sanctuary in Holland. On 9th November the republic was proclaimed. Nothing stands more clearly proved that it was military defeat, not internal revolution, that caused Germany's collapse.

Now for the contention that the German capitulation was in no sense a surrender but merely a cessation of hostilities on certain fixed terms. Here is the testimony of General Ludendorff:

"On 23rd or 24th October, Wilson's answer arrived. It was a strong answer to our cowardly note. This time he made it quite clear that the armistice conditions must be such as to make it impossible for Germany to resume hostilities and to give the powers allied against her unlimited power to settle themselves the details of the peace accepted by Germany. In my view, there could no longer be doubt in my mind that we must continue the fight."

Hindenburg held to the same view, and on 24th October signed an order "for the information of all troops" that contained these statements: "He (Wilson) will negotiate with Germany for peace only if she concedes all the demands of America's allies as to the internal constitutional arrangements of Germany. . . . Wilson's answer is a demand for unconditional surrender. It is thus unacceptable to us soldiers." The closing words were a passionate appeal to "continue resistance with all our strength". The order, however, was never promulgated, for Hindenburg and Ludendorff both knew that talk of continued resistance was nonsense. The request for an armistice on 4th October was a confession of defeat, and shattered the army's morale beyond repair.

A second opportunity to choose between war or surrender was afforded the Germans by the presentation of the armistice terms. A more definite and detailed document was never framed. It set down provision after provision that were the essence of unconditional surrender, and at every point made clear what the Peace Treaty itself would contain. Particularly this provision: that compensation would be made by Germany for "all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies, and to their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea and from the air". It was in the power of the Germans to denounce the terms as being in violation of President Wilson's assurances of a "just peace". They made no such denunciation.

To charge that the Germans were not heard is another incredible distortion. The full text was handed to them on 7th May, 1919, with the statement that an answer would be required by 21st May. Oral discussion was barred for the very good reason that meetings would have degenerated into wrangles, as Count Brockdorff-Rantzau and his associates were truculent to the point of insolence. On the other hand, written arguments and counter-proposals were invited, and the Germans took full advantage of this privilege.

On 10th May the Germans discussed at length the clauses relating to repatriation of prisoners; on 12th May, the question of reparations; on 13th May, the proposed territorial changes; on 16th May, the Saar Basin; on 22nd May, the international labour legislation; and on 23rd May the report of the German Economic Commission was published, together with the Allied reply. On 20th May an extension of time was asked and granted, and on 29th May the complete German counter-proposals were handed in and straightway given to the Press for the information of all peoples. No fairer method of hearing could have been devised. Instead of the hot give-and-take of oral debate, confined necessarily to a few principal figures, the Germans were allowed time and opportunity for thought, study, and consultation in order that their replies might be full and authoritative, expressing the deliberate opinions of their experts.

From 29th May to 16th June the Council worked on the German counter-proposals, weighing every word, analysing every claim, for it was the moral judgment of mankind that would pass upon the result of their labours. The principal German contentions were these: that the peace was one of violence, not justice; that Germany did not commence the war; and that the Allies had stated repeatedly that they were not making war on the German people; it should be taken into consideration that the people were now in power, and that the new government should not be held responsible for the "faults" of the former government.

The Allies rejected these pleas *in toto*, but their arraignment ended on this sober, conciliatory note: "They have examined the German observations and counter-proposals with earnest attention and care. They have, in consequence, made important modifications in the draft treaty, but in its principles they stand by it. They believe that it is not only a just settlement of the Great War, but that it provides the basis upon which the peoples of Europe can live together in friendship and equality. At the same time it creates the machinery for the peaceful adjustment of all international problems by discussion and consent, and whereby the settlement of 1919 itself can be modified from time to time to suit new facts and new conditions as they arise."

Now for the Great Lie. Bold Souls and foolish sentimentalists notwithstanding, the record proves that "poor Germany", instead of being impoverished by the "extortionate and unconscionable" reparation clauses of the Treaty, emerged with a handsome profit. Here are the figures: up to 1924 payments in cash and kind \$1,880,200,000; under the Dawes Plan, \$1,886,860,000; under the Young Plan, \$685,916,000; a total of \$4,452,976,000.¹ Against this outgo, Germany received \$5,156,000,000 in the form of loans, international and private, between 1924 and 1930. During the same period

¹ While there is no dispute as to payments under the Dawes and Young plans, Germany claims that she should have been credited with some \$ eight or nine billion up to 1924. This figure, however, was reached by the inclusion of costs for military demobilization, value of dismantled war plants, losses through settlement of claims abroad, value of the share of the public debt by ceded territories, doubled and trebled prices for coal, coke and other deliveries in kind, etc. etc. One item that the Reparations Commission actually allowed was \$335,000,000 for the fleet they scuttled at Scapa Flow. More than this, they were credited with 711 million gold marks for shipping that they themselves had valued at 400 million in 1919.

foreign capital invested \$700,000,000 in German enterprises, \$80,000,000 in German bonds and \$500,000,000 in German real property.

Almost a billion to the good on reparations, and her pump amply primed by a billion and a quarter of new money from the outside, "poor Germany" plunged into a spending orgy that left the rest of Europe gasping. Among other things, she replenished inventories and her gold and foreign-exchange reserves; built up her merchant marine; earned a favourable trade balance of £500,000,000; raised the living standard; tore down her tenements and erected a million and a half new homes, and filled the land with costly public buildings, parks, swimming pools, athletic stadiums, convention halls, airports, theatres, museums, dining-halls, office buildings, planetariums, hotels, and other things denounced even by Dr. Hjalmar Schacht as "luxury expenditures". In short, while other nations sweated and starved, the Master Race went on a joy ride.

Only by telling the story of reparations in detail can lies be refuted. At the outset it must be admitted that the subject was approached passionately rather than judicially. Lloyd George was primarily responsible, for before the guns had ceased to echo he was campaigning on a platform of "Hang the Kaiser" and "Make Germany pay the whole cost of the war". Voters were assured that the German lemon would be squeezed until every pip squeaked. These cries were taken up in France, Belgium, and Serbia, and people were led to believe that colossal indemnities would free them from the burdens of reconstruction.

It was against this state of mind that Woodrow Wilson arrayed himself, singlehanded and alone, for from the United States the Republican majority shouted that he had no other function than to join with the Allies in "inflicting their will on the unspeakable Huns". From the first he contended that Germany should be made to pay only for actual and provable damage, and steadfastly insisted on a lump sum. As Bernard M. Baruch has testified, "In the American view, it was to the interest of the Allied and Associated Governments to fix a *reasonable and definite amount* that Germany could pay, and that they could afford to have her pay. . . . They urged that money given now and expended would be of greater value than a large sum received later. They urged the crying need of the Allied peoples for rehabilitation and readjustment, and the necessity for this purpose of a new basis of credit. What they had in mind was the preservation of the economic structure, and the saving of Europe from bankruptcy."

His pleas fell upon deaf ears. Hughes of Australia went so far as to claim that every man who had mortgaged his home to buy a war bond was as much entitled to reparation as one whose house had been burned. From London came a Round Robin, signed by three hundred and seventy members of Parliament, ordering Lloyd George to "make the pips squeak"; and by a vote of 344 to 166 the French Chamber of Deputies supported Clemenceau in his demand for a "hard peace". The estimates of what could be squeezed out of Germany ran all the way from seventy-five billions to one hundred and twenty billions.

President Wilson well knew that it was not in the power of Germany to pay any such sum or even an amount that would meet the cost of reconstruction. He knew equally well that the governments of France, England, and Italy would fall if this fact were admitted openly in the treaty. It was not only that the leaders had made extravagant promises, but the hopes of the people ran naturally and inevitably along the line that it was right and necessary for Germany to restore pre-war conditions. As the one escape from chaos, he agreed finally to a settlement that would save Germany, and still continue the hope of Allied peoples until such time as recovered normality enabled them to look for it in the future.

As a consequence, these terms were set down in the Peace Treaty: (1) A payment of \$5,000,000,000 by May, 1921, against which the Germans were permitted to list the expenses of the Army of Occupation, along with credits for shipping, coal, securities, cattle, and other assets that might be turned over prior to 1924. There was also provision that a part or a whole of the sum could be loaned to Germany for the rehabilitation of her economic life, and this was done at an early date. At the time of the armistice, for example, Germany's immediately transferable wealth was around \$625,000,000, and although an available source of reparations, the Germans were permitted to use \$250,000,000 for the purchase of food, and another \$50,000,000 to meet obligations in neutral countries. (2) A bond issue of \$10,000,000,000. (3) A second issue of \$10,000,000,000 "when, but not until" the Commission on Reparations was satisfied that Germany could pay. Even so, only twenty-five billions on the face of it, as compared to Mr. Keynes's estimate of forty billions. Moreover, the Commission, at the insistence of President Wilson, was given power not only to fix methods and times of payment, but to determine the *amount* of the indemnity.

After many meetings, the Commission announced its findings on 27th April, 1921, setting fifteen billions as the sum that Germany would have to pay. There was, to be sure, provision for additional bond issues of \$18,000,000,000, but these were deferred to some unstated time in the far distant future. Fifteen billions instead of forty billions, and to be paid in annuities over a long stretch of years. Far better terms than the Germans had dared to hope, but even so evasion and repudiation became their goals. Along with stubborn refusal to impose adequate taxes, they entered upon the orgy of inflation already described.

Reparation payments were met promptly for 1921, because made in kind, but early in 1922 came whining requests for postponements and reductions. The Commission agreed to a large measure of relief, but sternly insisted that the Germans stabilize the currency, balance the budget and raise the tax rates. None of these things was done, and in November Berlin pleaded for a definite moratorium and a revision of payments. Exasperated both by these tactics and German default in certain deliveries of timber, the French occupied the Ruhr in January, 1923. Straightway the German Government ordered a policy of passive resistance, and in face of repeated pleas of abject poverty, had no difficulty in finding \$700,000,000 with which to indemnify the whole Ruhr industry—capital, masters, and men—for their enforced idleness.

Out of chaos came a decision to turn the whole business of reparations over to an international committee of experts, and under the chairmanship of General Charles G. Dawes this body presented a plan that went into operation in August, 1924. No attempt was made to fix the amount of Germany's obligation; and while \$1,500,000,000 was required in five annual instalments, half in cash and half in kind, these payments were fixed on the condition that Germany's exchange and economic life should not be endangered. France agreed to evacuate the Ruhr, and by way of giving the plan a flying start, Germany received one loan of \$200,000,000 and a second of \$1,000,000 for her railways and post office. Under pressure, the currency was stabilized and budgetary reforms adopted, and payments began to be met regularly and promptly. As a result, S. Parker Gilbert, Agent for Reparations Payments, was able to report in May, 1930, that "Germany's credit has been re-established both at home and abroad, her industries have been reorganized, and her productive capacity restored, and the general standard of living has been greatly improved".

What he failed to mention was that almost all of it was done by borrowed money. As Dr. Schacht himself admits: "The decisive historic mistake which must be charged against the German Social Democracy is that it seized the occasion of a lost war, and one on a tremendous scale, which necessarily required the greatest sacrifices of the conquered people, to promise the masses of the

population greater comforts than they had enjoyed before the war." Why not? Were they not being assured by Adolf Hitler that the Peace Treaty was a "monstrous injustice" that should be repudiated in every detail? And was this point of view not being sustained by many leaders of public opinion both in England and the United States?

Best of all, the Allies were not only lending them millions, but gullible foreigners, encouraged by the Dawes Plan, were fairly falling over each other to buy German bonds and invest in German enterprises and German real estate. Why drudge when a joy ride was offered? Out of a myopic inability to see things as they were, the United States and the Allies followed up the Dawes Plan with a new plan based on "confidence in the good faith and financial integrity of Germany". Under the chairmanship of Owen D. Young, a second group of experts took over, and under date of 20th January, 1930, announced the "complete and final settlement of the reparation problem". The slate was wiped clean, and \$7,200,000,000 was set forth as the amount that would settle Germany's reparation bill in full. Adding the \$1,880,200,000 paid up to 1924, and the \$1,886,860,000 paid under the Dawes Plan, this gives a total of \$10,967,060,000. A far cry indeed from the \$40,000,000,000 that had caused such breast-beating on the part of the Big, Broad, and Bold fraternity in England and the United States. Moreover, the \$7,200,000,000 was staggered over the years until 1988, and another international loan of \$300,000,000 started the new plan off with a helpful shove.

To quote Dr. Schacht again: "The German Government faced two great tasks. In the first place, it was its duty to avail itself once and for all of the favourable provisions of the Young Plan—and a mere reading of the Young Plan reveals a whole series of opportunities for an active German reparation policy—and in the second place, it should have applied the utmost energy to the task of regulating its budget and assisting German industry by every possible economy in all public undertakings. It did neither of these things; it did not even take them in hand. Without waiting to be pressed, it sacrificed some of the most valuable provisions of the Young Plan, did nothing to make use of others, and permitted German finance and German industry to sink still lower."

These failures were due to Adolf Hitler's furious attacks, for he fought the Young Plan just as he had fought the Dawes Plan, determined to precipitate the ruin that would be his opportunity. Higher and higher rose his speeches against reparation payments, and with rare shamelessness, Dr. Schacht switched over to stand at his side, finally denouncing the "immoral Treaty" no less savagely than Hitler himself. Heinrich Brüning, the new Chancellor, strove manfully to reduce expenditures, compel budgetary reforms and end proved abuses, but not only did he have to fight Hitler but also the senile, reactionary old President. Due to tariffs and subsidies, the great landowners were getting grain prices five times higher than the import price, yet Hindenburg vetoed all attempts at reform. On the other hand, the Social Democrats successfully resisted Dr. Brüning's efforts to crack down on the unemployment insurance "rackets". In October, 1930, a \$125,000,000 short-term foreign credit was negotiated to cover the budget deficit, and in January a second credit of \$35,000,000 was arranged, but these were drops in the bucket. The American *Federal Reserve Bulletin*, less naïve than Mr. Gilbert, foresaw the crash, and sounded this warning in November, 1930:

"First and foremost, there has been no effective recognition of the principle that the Government must live within its income. Revenues have been ample, and, notwithstanding the important reductions in taxation that were made in the earlier years, have risen to an estimated total of 10,061,000,000 reichsmarks in 1929-30, as compared with 7,757,000,000 reichsmarks in 1924-25 and 8,961,000,000 reichsmarks in 1927-28. These revenues would have been adequate to meet all legitimate requirements of the Reich, and even to provide

a reasonable margin of safety, if only a firm financial policy had been pursued. For the past four years, however, the Government has always spent more than it received and at times, especially during 1929-30, it has made commitments to spend even more than it could borrow."

Fast and faster the German joy ride rushed to its disastrous finish. By June, 1931, the situation was so desperate that England and France leaped at President Hoover's proposal of a moratorium that would suspend Germany's payments for the fiscal year beginning July. *That was the end of reparations.* Four and a half billions paid out, and six and a half billions taken in! Straightway, the whole land blazed with the signal fires of repudiation, and by their light Adolf Hitler and his gangsters climbed to complete power. Having successfully repudiated reparations, what more obvious than a default on *all* debts, both public and private? With oily, unscrupulous Dr. Schacht at his right hand, the Fuehrer decreed the death penalty for any payment, either interest or amortization, to foreign creditors, and by this one stroke of the pen wiped out between three and four billion dollars that had been loaned or invested for "poor Germany's" rehabilitation by gullible fools and nations the whole world over. A cheat and a swindle without parallel, and followed up by even more shameless adventures in dishonesty. South American countries, induced to sell copper, cotton, tin, oil, and grain to Germany on a barter basis, received in return the refuse products of German factories.

"Not a pfennig to any creditor!" Pour every single reichsmark into armament, thus ending unemployment and enabling the Master Race to assert its right to world dominion! Under the magic of the Fuehrer's screams, sobs, and maniacal rages, all that had been taught by Fichte, Hegel, Clausewitz, Treitschke, Nietzsche, and Bernhardt was brought back into German consciousness, and once again there was the intoxicating conviction of Superiority. With "Jews and traitors" dealt with and done for, what simpler than for the Fuehrer to succeed where the Kaiser had failed? *Weltmacht oder Niedergang!*

CHAPTER XVII

THE GADARENE GALLOP

IN VIEW OF the record—four years of total war waged ferociously and inhumanely by German armies without dissent from the civilian population—why labour to pile up additional proof that Adolf Hitler *is* the German people, a perfect expression of the German heart, mind and soul? Who so stupid now as to establish a distinction? What hysterical nonsense to assume that the world can be fooled again as in 1918! But it is *not* nonsense! Already the groundwork is being laid for a drive to free the German people from the penalties of blood guilt, with only Hitler and a few Nazi hierarchs driven into the wilderness as scapegoats.

German refugees, sincere enough in their hatred of the Fuehrer, but equally sincere in their Pan-Germanism, are the bellwethers; but any study of the public prints shows that their subtle propaganda is being swallowed whole by columnists, university professors and clerics without any apparent distension of the gullet. In books, magazine articles, and particularly in letters to the metropolitan dailies of the U.S.A., the imposition of "harsh terms", and even

military occupation, is increasingly attacked as a course that will chill the German people's innate love of democracy.

Prince Hubertus zu Löwenstein, as evidenced by the following quotation, is peculiarly adroit in putting across this band of thought: "While a civilian cannot question military necessity, the student of history may say that the periods immediately after the overthrow of a despotic administration are those which usually lend themselves most readily to the rebirth of national democracy. If in the Axis countries that opportune moment should be allowed to pass unused, or the impression created that benevolent foreign gauleiters will take over where the native left off, a great chance for democracy will be missed."

The bland impudence of Prince Hubertus is more than matched by a fairly recent declaration signed by fifty "Loyal Americans of German Descent", all prominent in public life. These gentlemen waxed apoplectic in their denunciation of the Nazi régime as a "shame and a disgrace", but argued with equal vehemence that Hitlerism had been imposed by force on an unwilling, unhappy and helpless people. The Press did not grudge space to this "patriotic manifesto", but overlooked entirely the answer made by Dr. Friedrich W. Foerster, a professor in the University of Munich, and one of Germany's most distinguished scholars until driven into exile in 1923 by the militarists and Pan-Germans who were the objects of his ceaseless attack.

"Your declaration," said Doctor Foerster, "contrasts the Nazi system with the ideology of the German people as if they were fundamentally different. The situation is just the reverse. Hitler's system constitutes only the terrible fulfilment of a century of German nationalistic lawlessness. The concept of 'Two Germanys' is a dangerous myth. The cultural Germany of Goethe and Beethoven was replaced more than a century ago by the militaristic Prussianized Germany of Clausewitz, Bismarck, Moltke, Hindenburg, Ludendorff, von Seeckt, and von Brauchitsch; and it is this Germany which has grown and thriven ever since. . . ."

"Whoever studies Prussianized Germany objectively must conclude that the Nazi régime, far from being opposed to the trend of German history, is but its logical fulfilment, the inevitable outgrowth of the ever-rising wave of brutality, trickery and robbery of the Prussian system and of its well-organized conquest of the German soul. Thus it is not true that the Hitler régime alone is 'the infamy of German history'. No! The disgrace and shame of Prussianized Germany's history of the last hundred years merely finds its fullest expression in the Hitler régime."

Every fact of record supports Doctor Foerster and gives the lie to the Pan-Germans and sentimentalists. Adolf Hitler should have been shot for his *putsch* in 1923, but public opinion forbade the death penalty and turned his brief imprisonment into a glorification. Just as it was the votes of the people that changed a gangster minority into an overwhelming majority, so was it the votes of the people, free and uncontrolled, that endorsed the Fuehrer principle, and vested the Austrian fanatic with supreme power. Of all the world's dictators, past and present, only Adolf Hitler can lay claim to absolute legitimacy as the result of popular election.

"All others," writes Emil Ludwig, "attained their power by force; Napoleon I in 1799; Napoleon III in 1851; Lenin in 1917; Mussolini in 1922. All of these broke their adversaries by force or threat. The French, Russian, and Italian people were overrun, and therefore could disclaim responsibility. It is only the German people that elected its dictator. . . . No United States President ever took possession of the White House with more right than the way Hitler took possession of the *Reichskanzlei* in Berlin in 1933. In the last two free elections in Germany in 1932, when the secret ballot was still used, the German people, by its own free will, voted the Nazis the strongest

party. Hitler was elected chief of the strongest party, and just as King George nominated Mr. Churchill to head the British Cabinet, so President Hindenburg named Adolf Hitler chancellor. Hitler was the choice of the people."

Never at any time did he attempt to deceive the electorate as to his true character and purpose. Not a German but knew that he hated democracy and stood for war and conquest; that the overthrow of the Weimar republic was his principal objective; that assassination was a favoured weapon in his fight for power, and that gangsters and perverts were his intimates. No protest was raised even when Ernst Röhm, in his treatise on homosexuality, boldly declared that Frederick the Great was also its practitioner and champion. The Horst Wessel song, canonizing a pimp, and containing such lines as "When Jewish blood gushes from our knives, things will be better," was enthusiastically adopted as the national anthem.

As always, the teachers, scientists, and scholars were a unit in slavish support of the whole Nazi movement. Heinz Pol, in *The Hidden Enemy*, records their shams in these words: "In the spring of 1933, after the world expressed its first misgivings over the Hitler régime, about one thousand two hundred university professors, descendants of the manifesto-makers of 1914, issued an 'Appeal to the Intellectuals of the World'. This Pan-German élite, *gleichgeschaltet* by Hitler, thought it useful to declare that 'German science appeals to the intellectuals of the world to show as much understanding towards the stirring German nation united by Adolf Hitler for freedom, honour, justice, and peace as they would towards their own nation'."

Julian Huxley, in his *Argument of Blood*, also bears testimony: "The Jew, Emil Lask, was the most important thinker that Heidelberg had produced for half a century. He was, moreover, the only member of his faculty who fell in the First World War. In the very building where he taught was affixed the notice, '*Wenn der Jude deutsch schreibt, liegt er*' (When the Jew writes German, he lies). None of his colleagues protested. Such was the pall of moral cowardice that the Nazi terror diaped over German learning. . . . Professors allowed their assistants to be beaten, driven into concentration camps, exiled with hardly a gesture of disapproval. They remained silent at the dismissal of colleagues in whose appointments they had a share, and by whose side they had worked for years. The merest handful chose to retire into the obscurity of private life."

On 10th May, 1933, the day of the great Book Burning, who was it that fed the bonfires in every German city? Not Storm Troopers, but the faculty members and students of every German university, and the teachers and pupils in every German school. "As you watch the fire burn these un-German books, let it also burn into your hearts love of the Fatherland." When Doctor Goebbels chanted this invocation in front of the University of Berlin, fifty thousand Germans lost their voices *heiling* Hitler. In Munich ten thousand children paraded the streets, staggering under the weight of books that they had brought from school and home, yelling like Indians as they tore and burned. Just as they gave the works of Heine to the flames, so did the good people of Düsseldorf drag the statue of the poet from its pedestal.

Nor were racial and religious persecutions, carried out with every circumstance of savagery, the work of Storm Troopers alone. None other than Fritz Thyssen, most ardent of Nazis until Goering decided on the confiscation of Thyssen properties in 1939, bears witness to a people's share in massacre and pillage. In *I Paid Hitler*, he tells of the mobs that "plundered the Jewish dwellings, smashing the furniture, slashing the pictures, and stealing everything they could carry away. At night, and even in broad daylight, they drenched the synagogues with petrol and set them ablaze."

Away from Düsseldorf at the time, Herr Thyssen held to the comforting conviction that "such horrors could not have occurred in our Rhine provinces,"

but found, on his return, "that the impossible had happened". The Rhinelanders, supposedly so gentle and good-hearted, had killed and looted no less barbarously than in Berlin, even wrecking the local government building in an effort to murder the *Regierungpräsident*, whose wife was alleged to have had a Jewish grandmother. "As in other German cities," moans Herr Thyssen, "there were scenes of disorder and pillage throughout the town. Jewish magnates, intellectuals, physicians and tradesmen were arrested. Many were odiously maltreated, even the old men. The aged legal adviser of the coal syndicate, Heinemann—who was seventy-five years old and universally respected—committed suicide with his wife. . . . Such was the news I received on my return. I was horrified."

In every age and in every nation, men have fought and died in defence of freedom of conscience and the right to freedom of worship, and yet the German people, long regarded as deeply religious, have sat silent while grimy hands profaned their altars and subjected priests and pastors to death and shames worse than death. Where was there any uprising in Germany when Pastor Niemöller went to the tortures of a concentration camp for his bold defiance? Or public outcry when Catholic prelates were dragged through wallows of humiliation? Here, again, Fritz Thyssen is called as a witness to testify against his own Rhineland, of all Germany the most intensely Catholic:

"In order to disgrace the Catholic clergy in the eyes of their congregations . . . the party Press began to publish degrading accounts of moral turpitude to be tried in secret. Throughout the Rhineland the party organized lectures in which the speakers recounted the most scandalous details. . . . The trials lasted for several months. The Nazis had the effrontery to summon into court Monseigneur Bornewasser, the old Bishop of Treves, and Monseigneur Sebastian, the Bishop of Speyer, almost eighty years of age." And on charges, it should be explained, that ranged from perjury to venerity. But did the 100 per cent Catholic people of the Rhineland rise in revolt? Not one!

Rudolph Fluegge, a New York business man of German birth, but associated with Doctor Foerster in the fight against Pan-Germanism as well as Nazism, has followed the German Press for the last ten years, and there is no more damning indictment of a people than his bulky digest of editorial opinion. Every line oozes hate, falsehood, vulgar abuse and equally vulgar assertions of German superiority. President Roosevelt and Miss Frances Perkins are Jews masquerading under Gentile names, and an administration controlled entirely by Jews persecutes or imprisons such "great voices of protest" as Father Coughlin, Gerald Winrod, Pelley, Mrs. Dilling, Senator Nye and Senator Reynolds. George Washington's victories were won by Germans, and Henry Ford stole the idea of the automobile from a German. Abraham Lincoln and even Daniel Boone were "true Germans".

It will be claimed, of course, that the present-day German Press does not represent the German people, but like Hitler, is imposed by force. As in the case of religion, every age and almost every country has found men willing to fight and die in behalf of free speech and a free Press. Silent and submissive when their faith is defiled, the German people have huddled like sheep in the fold as their elected masters took over newspapers as private property. In every occupied country, at the risk of torture and death, the people support underground newspapers. But not in Germany. Germans read what they are told to read, and *Der Stürmer*, Julius Streicher's unspeakable sheet, enjoys a huge circulation and widespread popularity.

In none of all this is there any element of surprise. Long years ago a great German poet, Heinrich Heine, watching with troubled eyes the change in the spirit of the German people—the eagerness with which they swallowed the doctrines of Fichte and Hegel—predicted that one day "there will be played in Germany a drama compared to which the French Revolution will be only

an innocent child." Never was there a truer prophecy! The Reign of Terror that began in April, 1793, and ended 27th July, 1794, sent two thousand six hundred men and women to the guillotine. Some seventeen thousand were executed in the provinces under form of law, and it is estimated that an equal number were killed by peasant mobs. A total of thirty-six thousand six hundred! More than that were slaughtered in the Berlin ghetto alone by Hitler and his Storm Troops. Where Robespierre took one life, Hitler took a hundred thousand.

The people of France, sick of bloodshed, rose in their might against the Revolutionary Tribunal, and all of the butchers met the fate that had befallen their wretched victims. Not so with the German people! Week in, week out, year after year, they watched Hitler and his gangsters still every voice of protest by murder and assassination, and where there was not actual approval, supine acquiescence gave the butchers a free hand. Nor when war came was there any outcry against the barbarities in occupied countries, but full-throated rejoicing as deportees and loot poured into the Reich.

Is this doubted? Then listen to the testimony of Theodor Hoffmann, president of the Steuben Society, given on his return to the United States after a visit to Adolf Hitler in 1934: "One fact clearly overshadows all others, and that is that the great majority of the German people have great confidence in the leader Adolf Hitler. He brought into the life of the German nation . . . new hope for the future. Whoever thinks that National Socialism rules by oppression, is mistaken. The mass of the German people stand heart and soul behind Hitler. It is united as it had never been united before. United in its willingness to follow the Fuehrer. . . . My personal impressions (in conversation with Hitler) were that Hitler is an idealist, an unusual organizer and a man of tremendous energy. It is my conviction that he is honest and sincere in his endeavours not only to unite the German people, but also in his determination to break the chains of slavery which have kept the German people fettered hand and foot for fifteen years."

Americans of German descent, moreover, have been warned that criticism of the Hitler régime will not be tolerated. Mark this excerpt from the address made on German Day in Baltimore in 1938 by Dr. Walter Thomas, Professor of Germanistic at the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis: "One thing, however, unites us . . . that is the love, the care, the anxiety for, and the pride of Germany, the land of our fathers. . . . We are pleased with, and proud of, a strong, united Germany, regardless whether under Bismarck, Ebert, Hindenburg, or Hitler. . . . We demand the right to cover up real or alleged faults of the land of our origin with the cloak of love and of silence. . . . That also makes it impossible for us in time of peace to become involved in machinations against the German government. In our adherence to Amerika-Germandom, as Karl Schurz represented it, lies the assurance of our existence as a respected racial group (*Volksgruppe*) in the U.S.A."

It is in the face of a record that has no parallel in sheer blood-lust and depravity that the camouflaged Nazis and sentimentalists ask acceptance of the fantasy that a "gentle, peace-loving people" have been forced by hated masters into "courses of conduct foreign to their nature and repugnant to their thoughts and hopes." When was there ever a more brazen appeal to credulity? Only from Doctor Foerster and his small group comes the stark truth that it is not possible "to differentiate the German people from the Pan-Germanist madness of their Prussian and Teutonic leaders. We have to do with a kind of national drunkenness, with a real mass infection, produced by a century of Prussian propaganda, poisoning the entire people by systematic lies."

Two more cases that prove the extent and thoroughness of this poisoning, and then I am done. The first is the story of Sigrid Undset, now in the U.S.A. as a refugee, and still mourning the death of a son, wantonly shot down by the

Germans at the door of his home in Norway. During the famine that gripped Germany in the early 'twenties—a tragedy invited by its own ill faith—the Norwegians took ten thousand children from the Reich and reared them as their own. It was these foster-sons, relates Madame Undset, returned to Germany after having been fed, clothed, sheltered and loved, who came back to Norway in 1940 as parachutists. Thousands of them dropping down from the skies to betray and destroy the people who fathered and mothered them. Knowing the country, familiar with the language and dialects, and even wearing Norwegian uniforms manufactured in Germany, they were able to bomb bridges, cut wires, and give false orders. Ask Madame Undset whether *she* makes a distinction between the German people and their Nazi rulers.

The second case involves another quotation from my interview with "Mr. B", the young leader of the Polish underground. He had been telling me of the German effort to corrupt and deprave Polish boys and girls, and of their own desperate attempts to counteract the campaign of defilement. "Do you know why we are so desperately resolved to protect and train our youth?" he asked, his scarred face dark with bitter memories. "It is because we see what evil teaching has done to young Nazis. In accordance with the Hitler theory that the separation of children from their parents will make them 'sons of the Reich', rendering all obedience to the Fuehrer, thousands of German boys are schooled in Poland, barracked like soldiers.

"Believe me, sir, when I tell you that they are more cruel, more savage, than their elders. Governor-General Frank has granted them the right to carry revolvers and rifles, and after school hours it is their favourite sport to go into a ghetto and hunt the Jews as though they were rabbits in a warren. With my own eyes I have seen them shoot women down, and with my own ears I have heard them yell, 'No, no, Hans, that one is *mine*. You had the last one'."

And we are asked to believe that these people, once Hitler is removed, will once again be seen and respected as simple, kindly, gentle folk. Great God!

CHAPTER XVIII

JUDGMENT

IT IS NOT only the world that must be saved from Germany, but Germans who must be saved from themselves. After centuries of deliberate, systematic poisoning, there is no health in them. Permitted to escape punishment again, all of their monstrous delusions will be continued, and it is only a matter of years before their megalomania will find expression in another and more terrifying bid for universal dominion. The ink had not dried on the armistice terms in 1918 when they started planning for the Second World War, and there has never been a day in the present struggle when the possibility of a third has been absent from their calculations.

"Our looting," to quote General Erich von Mannstein, "must be methodical and organized, so that our plunder, combined with the destruction of factories and machinery, will enable us to stage a come-back in the not too distant future." Field Marshal von Rundstedt, in a recent lecture before the Bureau

of Economic Warfare, stated frankly that, "Total destruction of our neighbours and their wealth is indispensable to our future victory." General von Stuelpnagel, boasting indiscreetly before neutral diplomats, indulged in this prophecy: "What does a temporary defeat matter if through the destruction of people and material wealth in enemy countries, we are able to secure a margin of economic and demographic superiority even greater than before?"

With ferocity and treachery so ingrained as to be an integral part of German character, restraints and punishments are commanded by every sound instinct of self-preservation as well as justice. It follows just as inevitably that the methods must not shame the victors or fail to leave some spark of redemptive possibility in the hearts of the vanquished. Proposals to exterminate the German people *en masse* come only from an inconsiderable few, themselves victims of fanaticism. Even were the United Nations willing to sink to the Nazi level, liquidating a nation of sixty millions presents definite physical difficulties. After four years of massacre and deportation, twenty million Poles are left out of a population of twenty-five millions, and all fight on. Sterilization and emasculation likewise entail a descent to Nazi depths.

What, then, to do? Putting aside minutiae, and getting down to fundamentals, these three impositions stand clear as the absolute minimum in dealing with a defeated Germany: (1) Unconditional surrender, followed by a military occupation that will enforce permanent demobilization and equally permanent disarmament; (2) the arrest and arraignment of all war criminals, from the highest to the lowest, uncomplicated and unimpeded by the slow, tortuous processes of civil courts; (3) an instant end to Prussia's evil, brutal domination of the German Empire. There, in three simple points, lies the one hope of a decent, orderly world, and the one possibility of salvaging a people sunk fathoms deep under the weight of their sins.

How can there be quarrel with the necessity of an unconditional surrender? Their defeat must be driven home to the German people until it has reached the most besotted mind and penetrated the very thickest skull. Every man, woman and child must be made to realize that their age-old boasts of invincibility and Superiority were *lies*. Anything else is to invite the rise of another Hitler, restoring arrogance and megalomania by shouts that the Master Race were not defeated but betrayed. More than any other one thing, the failure of the Allies to march through to Berlin in 1918 laid the foundations for World War II.

Weltmacht oder Niedergang was Germany's war cry in 1914 and 1939, shrilled from every throat. Having laid down those alternatives themselves, the Germans must be made to abide by them. *Niedergang* was the chance they took, never dreaming that they would lose, and *downfall* must be given full realization. Not to hold them to the terms of their own gamble is to confirm German contempt for the gullibility of their enemies, and whet their determination for another throw with bloody dice.

Both in England and the United States, the "re-education" of the German people is being championed by a certain type of post-war planner. It is not surprising to have this fantastic theory advanced by such stratospheric idealists as Vice-President Wallace, but even a grim realist like Lord Vansittart embodies this suggestion as one of his twelve points: "The curriculum of school and university studies to be under inter-Allied supervision and advice until the re-education of the German people is assured in accordance with the principles of international good-will." But with the children of Germany as thoroughly poisoned as their elders, we can hardly afford to wait on the chance that a new generation may be persuaded that the Sermon on the Mount is a better rule of life than the Hymn of Hate. The one system of re-education that holds

any promise of a change in the German people is to face them with a set of unyielding *facts*!

The fact of *defeat*! The fact that their leaders were a lot of bombastic liars! The fact that war and crime do not pay! The fact that high priests, judged and condemned as common criminals, hang from gallows! Might is what they have been taught for centuries. Might is all they understand. Then *show them might*! Might in the service of *right*. How else can these facts be burned into their consciousness except through unconditional surrender and military occupation?

Effective military occupation, of course, not the slipshod, haphazard, weak-kneed affair of 1918, when the three Rhine bridgeheads were held by the British in Cologne, the Americans in Coblenz, and the French in Mainz—a tripartite arrangement that made for wrangles and laxity. As a result, the German General Staff carried on without interruption, secreting arms and vital machinery, and training soldiers under the very eyes of the Allies. One central command, broken down to states, cities and towns, is clearly indicated.

A far-flung task, for demobilization, disarmament and demilitarization cannot stop at the Army, the S.A., the S.S., aviation plants and munitions factories. Science and industry are, and always have been, under the orders of the General Staff, and the great chemical, steel, and iron combines must be brought under rigid supervision and control. No "war potential" can be permitted to operate without check. Just as the I. G. Farben group tricked foreign companies into cartel agreements that came close to treason, so will it happen again unless due vigilance is exercised.

By no means may German finances be exempted from inspection and authority. Particularly must the United Nations, through some effective agency, ride hard on all foreign loans made to the Germans. Not again can they be permitted to take the millions of headlong lenders and pour them into the steel hoppers of their armament works. After the last experience, when even hard-headed little Switzerland was bilked of an enormous sum, it seems inconceivable that nations or individuals would run the risk of being swindled a second time, but the depths of human credulity have never yet been plumbed. This does not mean that Germany will be barred from borrowing, but simply that all monies obtained through loans shall be devoted to proper purposes that afford some assurance of repayment. The right of the German people to choose between "guns and butter", or, rather, having the choice made for them, must be taken away. A tremendous task, and one that cannot, and must not, be entrusted to social workers, academicians, university economists, ideologists, and German refugees who mask their steadfast Pan-Germanism behind a loud-mouthed hatred of Hitler. The present situation in Italy points imperatively to the need of a purely military control in Germany. Warring Italian political groups, encouraged in their insolent factionalism by sociological civil administrators, stir dissension and turmoil by insisting on the right to set up a government, although each ideologist has his own idea of what that government should be. Out of their angry brawling they even threaten their liberators with civil strife.

The second point is not open to argument, or even question, for the United Nations are pledged to the arrest and trial of "those German officers and men and members of the Nazi party who have been responsible for, or who have taken part in, atrocities and executions." The weakness of the pledge lies in its failure to prescribe procedure. That was the tragic blunder of the Allies in 1918, for not until the very convocation of the Peace Conference was any thought given to the arrest and trial of the Kaiser and his war criminals. Out of a confusion of voices came all sorts of grandiose schemes for the establishment of International Courts with judges drawn from both neutral

and belligerent countries, panels of prosecutors, legalistic provisions for appeals, etc., etc., etc.

What the United Nations should do, and at an early date, is to meet and make all necessary decisions with respect to the arrest and arraignment of war criminals. Countries that have suffered invasion should be given the right, freely and explicitly, to deal with their ravagers and ravishers as they see fit, unbedeviled by suggestion, supervision, or superior courts to which appeals can be taken. The only exercise of any higher power should be confined to the adjudication of disputes when two or three countries file a claim for the same criminal.

In the matter of "criminals whose offences have no particular geographical localization," and "who will be punished by joint decision of the governments of the Allies," any proposal to set up an International Court or Courts should be dismissed summarily as an open invitation to all those technicalities and legal stratagems with which lawyers have kept justice in blindfolds, handcuffs and leg-chains. Only military tribunals, established under authority of the Armies of Occupation, will provide the swift procedure that is the one way to avert mass reprisals. The courts of the United States were open when German saboteurs landed on its coasts, but did the Americans take a chance on the leaden pace of the law? *They did not!* A military tribunal heard them, judged them and sentenced them.

And why, let it be asked, wait for the hour of victory to judge Hitler, Goering, Himmler, Mussolini, and all those others whose crimes have no particular geographical localization? By their published orders, by their own boasts, their guilt stands self-confessed. As in the case of Napoleon, outlawed after his escape from Elba, and three months before Waterloo, let the Master Criminals be judged *now*, and branded before the world as fugitives from justice whose execution only waits on capture.

A United Nations Commission for the Investigation of War Crimes is assumed to be at work in London. If its list does not include financiers, industrialists and civil administrators, along with the Gestapo, *Schutzstaffel* and *Sturmabteilung*, then the members should be indicted for gross negligence. All are guilty in greater or lesser degree, despite the fact that every one will lift hands to heaven and show them free of blood. In gangs there is no distinction between the "finger-man" and the "trigger-man", between the higher-up who plots the crime and the killer who levels the gun.

Prison sentences, as a matter of course, will be imposed in many instances, and these "second degree" criminals might well provide the United Nations with means of escape from a very embarrassing situation. Russia, it may be remembered, is on record with the flat demand that Germany must furnish the necessary man power with which to repair the ravage of German armies. A highly natural insistence, considering the horror of ruin in Stalingrad and other cities, but hardly to be distinguished from the Nazi system of labour camps. No one questions the justice of compensation for scientific loot and wanton damage—shattered nations cannot be expected to foot the bills out of their own empty pockets—but that is quite a different thing from peonage. Why not have the sentences of all the lesser Axis criminals read "imprisonment and hard labour", and send them to serve out their terms in devastated areas?

Along with speedy decisions as to procedure, and a proclamation of outlawry against the Master Criminals, the United Nations should serve stern notice on all neutral countries that the ancient right of sanctuary must not be abused or subverted. Already many of the Nazi hierarchs, notably Hitler, Goering, Goebbels, and Himmler, have sent their stolen fortunes out of Germany, and plan to follow when defeat becomes imminent, claiming asylum as "political refugees". Switzerland, Turkey, Spain, Portugal, Sweden and

Argentina—particularly Argentina—must have it made clear that pride of sovereignty will not be accepted as an excuse for refusing the extradition of criminals. (See APPENDIX III.)

All of these proposed measures, however, armed occupation, demobilization, disarmament, the punishment of criminals and the control of all war potentials, are no more than supplementary. Not one of them, while vital, goes down to tap the roots. The third point is of great importance, for there can be no peace in Europe, no peace in the world, until Germany is *freed from the domination of Prussia*. There is the cancer that has got to be cut out before any return to health can be hoped. From the dawn of the race, Prussians have been the bane of the German people, and are still as fiercely tribal as when they rode their shaggy ponies down out of the forests to the pillage of Rome. Not Germans, but Wendish and Slavic, it is through force, and force alone, that they have beaten down the hates and resistances of Bavarians, Rhinelanders, Saxons, Westphalians, Hanoverians, and the gentler peoples of Württemberg and Baden.

In the U.S.A. ex-President Hoover and Mr. Hugh Gibson, among others, have already taken firm stand against anything approaching partition. "Proposals forcibly to dismember Germany are a folly that would add only to the economic and political Balkanizing of Europe. We cannot have both revenge and peace. We must make such a setting as will give the decent elements in Axis peoples a chance to lead their comrades on to the paths of peace." The identity and exact location of these "decent elements" might well be asked; but let it pass. What Mr. Hoover and Mr. Gibson seem to assume is that the German Empire, like Minerva, came into being full-formed and harmoniously complete in every detail, overlooking entirely some centuries of savage war and still more savage conquest.

Back in the Eleventh Century, unless the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is gravely at fault, the Poles asked the Teutonic Knights to aid them in their warfare against the "heathen Prussians", a fierce admixture of Slav and Tartar. The Prussians were crushed in a series of battles, but while the men were duly butchered, the conquerors mated with the women, and passed that blood on down to their sons and their sons' sons.

Overrunning the land as had the Prussians, the Knights were defeated by the Poles in 1410 at the battle of Tannenberg, and by 1466 had been driven back to the Margravate of Brandenburg. Silesia and Pomerania were the fruits of conquest, but even in the time of Frederick the Great less than a third of his subjects spoke German. To this very day districts fairly close to Berlin still speak the Slavic tongue and hold to Wendish customs.

Westphalia, the Rhineland, northern Saxony, all were acquired by force and intrigue; Schleswig and Holstein came as spoils of the war waged against little Denmark; and the "German unity" achieved by Bismarck in 1871 was a product of the emotional excitement of two victorious wars. All soon rued their folly, for Prussia not only ruled autocratically, but drained the wealth of South and West.

In 1919, when defeat robbed Prussia of retaliatory force, a definite plan was advanced for the formation of an independent South German state composed of Austria, Bavaria, Württemberg and the Rhineland, with strong probability that Baden and Hesse might join at a later date. The form of government was to be a constitutional monarchy, patterned after the British model, and far removed from Hohenzollernism. The plan, while conceived by Bavarians, had the approval of Monseigneur Seipel, Austria's leader, and the endorsement of military and civic leaders in Württemberg and the Rhineland. Hungary also gave agreement, eager for the creation of a buffer state that would end the ever-present threat of Prussian domination. Clemenceau, however, thinking it a plot to evade the payment of reparations, rejected the proposal, continued

German unity, and thereby sealed the doom of his country. The unhappy South German states, refused release from vassalage, returned to their vomit.

No; dismemberment is an unfair word. Restoration is a better; restoration of the German Empire to its former constituent parts. As a matter of truth, the proposal is no longer open to debate, being under way in some degree. The Powers have stated explicitly that Austria's independence is to be restored, and what is that but a break-up of the Reich? Moreover, Russia has made it clear that she looks to spheres of influence for her safety, rather than collective security. As an offset to Russian seizure of Eastern Poland and the Baltic States, the Poles are to be given East Prussia and the northern part of Pomerania, probably down to a line drawn through Stettin. It is also highly probable that Silesia, east of Breslau, will be divided between Czechoslovakia and Poland, and a virtual certainty that the Kiel Canal and Heligoland will be internationalized.

Emil Ludwig, as much of an authority on Germany as any other, stresses the necessity of partition, and advocates the division of the Empire into two parts. "This done," he argues, "the Prussian General Staff would never again have the power to mobilize, by one declaration, the whole of Germany as it did." Under his plan, as laid down broadly, the Prussian state would consist of Berlin, Brandenburg, and large portions of Silesia and Pomerania, with a population well over fifteen millions. A compact state, completely homogeneous by reason of blood, culture, and religion. The southern and western German states, in his opinion, could be permitted the right of federation after having given proof of regeneration, and other similar groupings could follow in due course. Aside from release from Prussian rule, Mr. Ludwig points out the advantage to be gained by separations of the Lutherans of Prussia from the Catholics of the Confederation. A customs union, common currency and common passports, easily set up under the Army of Occupation, would safeguard against chaos.

All of which is for the future. First things come first. Unconditional surrender, an effective military occupation that will compel and continue demobilization, disarmament, and demilitarization; punishment of all war criminals, full control of Germany's war potentials, the return of loot and restitution for damage and ruin, and the end of the Prussian Reich. Failure in one is failure in all, and in failure are the seeds of catastrophe and chaos.

APPENDIX I

THE JAPANESE, AS stated in the Foreword, have waged war with every imaginable barbarity from the very first. Nanking, Hong Kong, and Shanghai served notice on the world that the armies of Tojo were under orders to disregard every rule laid down by the Geneva and Hague Conventions. As yet, however, the crimes against humanity have not been made known in any detail. The Russians, Poles, Czechs, Danes, French, Norwegians, and Belgians bare German atrocities, making regular and circumstantial reports, but the Chinese have not filed any like indictments. To this very day the officers directly responsible for wholesale rape and ruin remain unknown. Chiang Kai-shek, of course, has the excuse of an agonized resistance that leaves no time for anything but fighting. This explanation cannot be urged by America's High Command. Just as the story of Dyess, McCoy, and Mellnik was held back for five months, so is it well known that reports of Japanese atrocities in the islands of the Pacific are being suppressed.

The asserted fear of reprisals does not hold water. There is no savagery that the Japanese can commit that has not been committed already. What they have done and are doing should be told not only to our people but to the peoples of the world, not broadly but in detail, and particularly identifying the criminals from the topmost general down to the private. In the following release, it will be noted, not a name of any Japanese commander is given.

JOINT ARMY-NAVY RELEASE

The factual and official story of how the Japanese tortured, starved to death and sometimes wantonly murdered American and Filipino soldiers who had been taken prisoner on Bataan and Corregidor was jointly released in January, 1944, by the Army and Navy.

The facts were taken from reports made by Commander Melvyn H. McCoy, United States Navy, of 1126 LaSalle Street, Indianapolis, Indiana; Lieut.-Colonel S. M. Mellnik, Coast Artillery Corps, of Dunmore, Pennsylvania; and Lieut.-Colonel (then Captain) William E. Dyess, Air Corps, of Albany, Texas, all of whom escaped from the Philippines after almost a year as Japanese prisoners. Their sworn statements included no hearsay whatever, but only facts which the officers related from their own personal experience and observations. The statements have been verified from other sources. After he made his statement to the War Department, Colonel Dyess was killed in a crash of his fighter plane at Burbank, California, while he was preparing to go back and fight the Japanese who had tortured him. Colonel Mellnik is now on duty with General MacArthur. Commander McCoy is on duty in U.S.A.

The three officers stated that several times as many American prisoners of war have died, mostly of starvation, forced hard labour, and general brutality, as the Japanese have ever reported. At one prison camp, Camp O'Donnell, about two thousand two hundred American prisoners died in April and May, 1942. In the camp at Cabanatuan, about three thousand Americans had died up to the end of October, 1942. Still heavier mortality occurred among the Filipino prisoners of war at Camp O'Donnell.

While this report deals exclusively with the records of Commander McCoy, Colonel Mellnik and Colonel Dyess, other Americans known to have escaped

from Japanese prison camps in the Philippines include Major Michiel Dober-vitch of Ironton, Minnesota; Major Austin C. Shofner of Shelbyville, Tennessee; Major Jack Hawkins of Roxton, Texas, and Corporal Reid Carlos Chamberlain of El Cajone, California, all of the U.S. Marine Corps.

The calculated Japanese campaign of brutality against the battle-spent, hungry American and Filipino soldiers on Bataan began as soon as they surrendered, with what was always thereafter known among its survivors as "The March of Death". Commander McCoy and Colonel Mellnik, who were taken prisoner at Corregidor, did not take part in this, but Colonel Dyess, who did so, said:

"Though beaten, hungry and tired from the terrible last days of combat on Bataan, though further resistance was hopeless, our American soldiers and their Filipino comrades in arms would not have surrendered had they known the fate in store for them."

"The March of Death" began when thousands of prisoners were herded together at Mariveles airfield on Bataan at daylight on 10th April, 1942, after their surrender. Though some had food, neither Americans nor Filipinos were permitted to eat any of it by their guards. They were searched and their personal belongings taken from them. Those who had Japanese tokens or money in their possession were beheaded.

In groups of five hundred to one thousand men, the prisoners were marched along the national road of Bataan towards San Fernando, in Pampanga Province. Those marchers who still had personal belongings were stripped of them; the Japanese slapped and beat them with sticks, as they marched along without food or water on a scorchingly hot day. Colonel Dyess, in a middle group, gave this description of "The March of Death":

"A Japanese soldier took my canteen, gave the water to a horse, and threw the canteen away. We passed a Filipino prisoner of war who had been bayoneted. Men recently killed were lying along the roadside, many had been run over and flattened by Japanese trucks. Many American prisoners were forced to act as porters for military equipment. Such treatment caused the death of a sergeant in my squadron, the 21st Pursuit. Patients bombed out of a near-by hospital, half-dazed and wandering about in pyjamas and slippers, were thrown into our marching column of prisoners. What their fate was I do not know. At ten o'clock that night we were forced to retrace our march for two hours, for no apparent reason.

"At midnight we were crowded into an enclosure too narrow to lie down. An officer asked permission to get water, and a Japanese guard beat him with a rifle butt. Finally a Japanese officer permitted us to drink water from a near-by carabao wallow.

"Before daylight the next morning, the eleventh, we were awakened and marched down the road. Japanese trucks speeded by. A Japanese soldier swung his rifle from one of them in passing, and knocked an American prisoner unconscious beside the road.

"Through the dust clouds and blistering heat we marched that entire day without food. We were allowed to drink dirty water from a roadside stream at noon. Sometime later three officers were taken from our marching column, thrown into an automobile and driven off. I never learned what became of them. They never arrived at any of the prison camps.

"Our guards repeatedly promised us food, but never produced it. The night of the eleventh, we again were searched and then the march resumed. Totally done in, American and Filipino prisoners fell out frequently, and threw themselves moaning beside the roadside. The stronger were not permitted to help the weaker. We then would hear shots behind us.

"At three o'clock on the morning of 12th April, they sho'd us into a barbed-wire bull pen big enough to accommodate two hundred. We were one thousand

two hundred inside the pen—no room to lie down, human filth and maggots were everywhere.

"Throughout the twelfth, we were introduced to a form of torture which came to be known as the sun treatment. We were made to sit in the boiling sun all day long without cover. We had very little water; our thirst was intense. Many of us went crazy and several died. The Japanese dragged out the sick and delirious. Three Filipino and three American soldiers were buried while still alive.

"On the thirteenth, each of those who survived was given a mess kit of rice. We were given another full day of the sun treatment. At nightfall we were forced to resume our march. We marched without water until the dawn of 14th April, with one two-hour interval when we were permitted to sit beside the roadside.

"The very pace of our march itself was a torture. Sometimes we had to go very fast, with the Japanese pacing us on bicycles. At other times we were forced to shuffle along very slowly. The muscles of my legs began to draw and each step was an agony.

"Filipino civilians tried to help both Filipino and American soldiers by tossing us food and cigarettes from windows or from behind houses. Those who were caught were beaten. The Japanese had food stores along the roadside. A United States Army colonel pointed to some of the cans of salmon and asked for food for his men. A Japanese officer picked up a can and hit the colonel in the face with it, cutting his cheek wide open. Another colonel and a brave Filipino picked up three American soldiers who had collapsed before the Japs could get to them. They placed them on a cart and started down the road towards San Fernando. The Japanese seized them as well as the soldiers, who were in a coma, and horsewhipped them fiercely.

"Along the road in the Province of Pampanga there are many wells. Half-crazed with thirst, six Filipino soldiers made a dash for one of the wells. All six were killed. As we passed Lubao we marched by a Filipino soldier gutted and hanging over a barbed-wire fence. Late that night of the fourteenth we were jammed into another bull pen at San Fernando with again no room to lie down. During the night Japanese soldiers with fixed bayonets charged into the compound to terrorize the prisoners.

"Before daylight on 15th April we were marched out and one hundred and fifteen of us were packed into a small narrow-gauge box-car. The doors were closed and locked. Movement was impossible. Many of the prisoners were suffering from diarrhoea and dysentery. The heat and stench were unbearable. We all wondered if we would get out of the box-car alive. At Capiz Tarlac we were taken out and given the sun treatment for three hours. Then we were marched to Camp O'Donnell, a prison camp under construction, surrounded with barbed wire and high towers, with separate inner compounds of wire. On this last leg of the journey the Japanese permitted the stronger to carry the weaker.

"I made that march of about 85 miles in six days on one mess-kit of rice. Other Americans made 'The March of Death' in twelve days, without any food whatever. Much of the time, of course, they were given the sun treatment along the way."

The prisoners taken at Corregidor, among whom were Commander McCoy and Colonel Melnik, had no experience quite like the death march. But after the surrender, the seven thousand Americans and five thousand Filipinos were concentrated in a former balloon station known as the Kindley Field Garage area—by that time only a square of concrete about 100 yards to the side, with one side extending into the water of the bay. The twelve thousand prisoners, including all the wounded who were able to walk, were kept on this concrete floor without food for a week. There was only one water spigot for the twelve

thousand men and a twelve-hour wait to fill a canteen was the usual rule. After seven days the men received their first rations—one mess kit of rice and a can of sardines.

The Corregidor prisoners were forced to march through Manila on 23rd May, 1942, having previously been forced to jump out of the barges which brought them over from the island while they were still a hundred yards from the beach. "Thus," said Colonel Mellnik, "we were marched through Manila presenting the worst appearance possible—wet, bedraggled, hungry, thirsty, and many so weak from illness they could hardly stand." Commander McCoy added, however, that the Japanese purpose of making this a triumphal victory parade was frustrated by the friendliness of Filipino civilians.

"All during the march through Manila," said Commander McCoy, "the heat was terrific. The weaker ones in our ranks began to stumble during the first mile. These were cuffed back into the line and made to march until they dropped. If no guards were in the immediate vicinity, the Filipinos along the route tried to revive the prisoners with ices, water and fruit. These Filipinos were severely beaten if caught by the guards."

Colonel Dyess' sworn statement declared that the Japanese officer commanding Camp O'Donnell, where the survivors of the Bataan death march were imprisoned, delivered a speech to the American and Filipino soldiers telling them that they were not prisoners of war and would not be treated as such, but were captives without rights or privileges.

There were virtually no water facilities at Camp O'Donnell. Prisoners stood in line for six to ten hours to get a drink. They wore the same clothing without change for a month and a half. Colonel Dyess waited thirty-five days for his first bath, and then had one gallon of water for it.

The principal food at Camp O'Donnell was rice. The prisoners received meat twice in two months, and then not enough to give as many as a quarter of them a piece an inch square. A few times the prisoners had camotes, an inferior type of sweet potato. Many were rotten and had to be thrown away. Prisoners themselves had to post guards to prevent the starving from eating the rotten potatoes. The intermittent ration of potato was one spoonful per man. Once or twice the prisoners received a few mango beans, a type of cow pea, a little flour to make a paste gravy for the rice, and a spoonful each of coconut lard. Colonel Dyess' diet for the entire three hundred and sixty-one days he was a prisoner of the Japanese, with the exception of some American and British Red Cross food he received, was a sort of watery juice with a little paste and rice. Some Japanese operated a black market and sold those prisoners who had money a small can of fish for five dollars.

After the prisoners had been at Camp O'Donnell for one week, the death rate among American soldiers was twenty a day, and among Filipino soldiers one hundred and fifty a day. After two weeks the death rate had increased to fifty a day among Americans and five hundred a day among Filipinos. To find men strong enough to dig graves was a problem. Shallow trenches were dug to hold ten bodies each.

"The actual conditions I find impossible to describe," Colonel Dyess' statement reads. "It is impossible from a description to visualize how horrible they really were."

One dilapidated building was set aside and called a hospital. Hundreds of men lay naked on the bare floor without covering of any kind. There was no medicine of any description. The doctors had not even water to wash human waste from their patients. Some afflicted with dysentery remained out in the weather near the latrines until they died.

Men shrank from two hundred pounds to ninety. They had no buttocks. They were human skeletons.

"It was plain and simple starvation," Colonel Dyess' statement reads. "It

was difficult to look at a man lying still and determine whether he was dead or alive."

The Japanese promised medicines, but never produced them. Once the Japanese allowed the Red Cross at Manila to bring in quinine. How much, the prisoners never found out. The Japanese did not issue enough to cure ten cases of malaria, and there were thousands.

The sick as well as those merely starving were forced into labour details by the Japanese. Many times men did not return from work. By 1st May, 1942, only about twenty out of every company of two hundred were able to go on work details. Many died in the barracks overnight. Frequently, for no apparent reason, the prisoners were forced to line up and stand in the sun for hours.

Around 1st June, the American prisoners at Camp O'Donnell were separated from their Filipino comrades in arms and moved to Cabanatuan Concentration Camp in Luzon. There Colonel Dyess joined Colonel Mellnik and Commander McCoy.

Conditions at Cabanatuan were slightly improved—there was adequate drinking water and muddy seepage wells provided water for bathing. Japanese brutality continued, however.

"I had been at Cabanatuan one day," Colonel Dyess' statement reads, "when a Jap came through the barracks looting. He found a watch hidden in some equipment of a man not present. As I was sitting near by, he punched me severely to show his feeling at the idea of a prisoner still having a watch."

Rice remained the principal diet at Cabanatuan. On one occasion the Japanese gave the American prisoners three chickens for five hundred men, and on another occasion fifty eggs for five hundred men. As a result, their propaganda later told the world that American prisoners in the Philippines were being fed on chickens and eggs.

Officers were not forced to work at Cabanatuan, but could volunteer to take out work details. Colonel Dyess so volunteered.

"The Japs frequently maltreated Americans working for them," his statement reads. "Once when a frail American private was not digging a ditch to suit his guard, the guard grabbed the shovel from him and beat him across the back with it. The boy had to be sent to the hospital. One Jap carried a golf club and beat the men working for him the way one wouldn't beat a horse. When two Americans were caught getting food from a Filipino they were beaten unmercifully on the face and body. After a doctor dressed their wounds the Japs took sticks and beat them again."

Men were literally worked to death. It was not unusual for 20 per cent of a work detail to be worked to death. In one instance, 75 per cent were killed that way.

Commander McCoy reported that two American Army officers and a Navy officer attempted to escape from Cabanatuan, which was thickly ringed with barbed wire, and had machine-gun emplacements and towers outside the wire. The officers were caught moving down a drain ditch to get under the wire.

Their Japanese captors beat them about the feet and legs till they could no longer stand, then kicked the officers and jumped on them. The next morning the three Americans, stripped to their shorts, were taken out on the road in full view of the camp, their hands were tied behind them, and they were pulled up by ropes from an overhead purchase, so that they had to remain standing, but bent forward to ease the pressure on their arms.

They were kept in this position in the blazing sun for two full days. Periodically the Japanese beat them with a two-by-four, and any Filipino unlucky enough to pass that way was compelled to beat them too. If he failed

to beat them hard enough, the Japanese beat him. After two days of this, one of the officers was beheaded and the other two were shot.

The Japanese made every effort to humiliate their prisoners of war. They would force them to stand and call them vile names. When one older American colonel turned away from a Japanese reviling him, he was knocked unconscious with a truncheon. American flags were habitually and designedly used as rags in the Japanese kitchens.

The death rate at Cabanatuan for June and July, 1942, was thirty Americans a day, according to the sworn statements of the three officers. The rate for August, 1942, was more than twenty a day. The rate for September, fifteen a day—because by that time most of the weaker men were already dead. During October, 1942, the rate ranged upwards from sixteen a day to nineteen a day and was increasing when Colonel Dyess, Colonel Mellnik, and Commander McCoy left on 26th October, 1942.

By that date, three thousand of the twelve thousand two hundred Army, Navy, and Marine Corps prisoners at Cabanatuan had died. There were two thousand five hundred in the hospitals, and the American doctors doubted that any of them would live.

The chief cause of death was starvation. This was definitely established by autopsies performed by both American and Japanese doctors. After it was determined that the men were starving to death, the Japanese answer was that there was no food available. There was a great abundance of food available in the Philippines at the time.

Other diseases caused indirectly by starvation were wet beri beri (in which the feet, ankles, and head swell to twice their size), dry beri beri, dysentery, diarrhoea, malaria, scurvy, blindness, diphtheria, yellow jaundice, and dengue fever. Several men went completely blind.

The Japanese eventually permitted the Red Cross in Manila to send medical supplies, but after they arrived they were not unpacked for many days and during this period many died. Colonel Dyess had dengue fever, yellow jaundice, and later scurvy sores. His weight shrank from 175 to 130 pounds, and he was given no medicine. At 130 pounds he was considered a fat man in the camp.

High Japanese officers regularly inspected the camp and knew of conditions. During inspections, prisoners were forced to wear their best clothes, which were rags—some men had no shirts, only trousers, and many had no shoes.

One inspection, said Colonel Mellnik, was conducted by a Japanese general. An American lieutenant-colonel was called out to accompany the general's group. He pointed out that many officers and enlisted men were too weak to stand in the ranks.

"We have many sick here," he said courageously.

The Japanese general, who spoke excellent English, asked:

"Why?"

The mess barracks was near by. The American lieutenant-colonel pointed to a meal of white rice and thin carrot-top soup.

"Here is why," he said. "We are all starving."

"That will be enough," snapped the Japanese general. "Your men are not starving. They need more exercise."

The lieutenant-colonel tried to say more, but Japanese guards quickly stepped in and restrained him. The Japanese general curtly turned on his heel and continued his inspection with an air of boredom and indifference.

The Japanese took four hundred prisoners who were technical men, gave them a physical examination, issued clothes to them, and sent them to Japan to work in factories. Another shipment of one thousand technical men for Japan was being arranged when Colonel Dyess, Colonel Mellnik, and Commander McCoy left Cabanatuan on 26th October, 1942. These three officers

and nine hundred and sixty-six other American officers and enlisted men had been crowded into the hold of a 7,000-ton British-built freighter at Manila for shipment to Davao on the island of Mindanao, with stops at Cebu and Iloilo.

The voyage took eleven days. The hold was filthy and vermin-infested. Some prisoners were lucky enough to get a place on the junk-filled, rain-swept deck. Two men died on the trip. On 7th November, 1942, the Americans were unloaded at Lansang Lumber Company, near Davao Penal Colony. The sun treatment for two hours followed, and then the group was forced to march more than 15 miles to the penal colony. Many were so weakened they fell by the roadside. In this instance, Japanese picked them up, threw them into trucks, and carried them along.

It developed that the Japanese commanding officer at the penal colony, which in peace times had been operated for criminals by the Philippine Bureau of Prisons, was disturbed when he saw the condition of the Americans. He had requested able-bodied labourers. Instead, he shouted, he had been sent walking corpses.

In spite of the condition of the prisoners, they were without exception put to hard labour—chaplains, officers, and enlisted men alike. Colonel Dyess, barefooted for a month and a half, was forced to clear jungle and plough every day.

During Colonel Dyess' three hundred and sixty-one days as a prisoner of war he received £2 10s. in pay from the Japanese. To get the £2 10s. he was forced to sign a statement saying that he had received more than £62 10s, with clothes, food, and lodging. No clothes were issued until American and British Red Cross supplies began to arrive at Davao, an event Colonel Dyess' statement describes as "The salvation of the American prisoners of war".

Food was slightly better at Davao. In addition to rice, the prisoners received once a day a small portion of mango beans, and some camotes, green papayas, casavas, or cooking bananas. However, most of the prisoners already were suffering from beri beri and the food was not sufficient to prevent the disease from progressing. Although oranges and lemons were abundant in the vicinity, the Japanese would not allow prisoners to have them. The brutality of Japanese officers continued. One lieutenant habitually beat prisoners. According to the statement of Colonel Mellnik, this lieutenant had done most of his fighting at the rear when in action, and had been assigned to prison duty as a punishment. He avenged himself on the prisoners.

The camp commandant made a speech to the prisoners shortly after their arrival.

"You have been used to a soft, easy life since your capture," he said. "All that will be different here. You will learn about hard labour. Every prisoner will continue to work until he is actually hospitalized. Punishment for malingering will be severe."

These orders were rigidly enforced. When Colonel Dyess, Colonel Mellnik, and Commander McCoy escaped from Davao in April, 1943, only one thousand one hundred of the two thousand prisoners there were able to work.

The arrival of two Red Cross boxes for each prisoner early in 1943 caused joy beyond description among the prisoners, according to the statement of the three officers. The boxes contained chocolate bars, cheese, tinned meats, and sardines, cigarettes, a portion each of tea, cocoa, salt, pepper, and sugar. Most important of all, quinine and sulphur drugs were included.

The Red Cross supplies had been received aboard a diplomatic ship in Japan in June, 1942. The prisoners never learned why it took them seven months to reach Davao.

A few days before Commander McCoy, Colonel Mellnik and Colonel

Dyess escaped from Davao on 4th April, 1943, one of the American prisoners, a hospital orderly, was wantonly murdered by a Japanese sentry.

The orderly was digging camotes, Colonel Mellnik reported, outside the hospital stockade and directly beneath a watch tower. It was an extremely hot day. He called to a fellow-prisoner to toss him a canteen from the stockade. As the orderly was about to drink from the canteen, the Japanese sentry in the tower shouted at him angrily.

To show that the canteen contained only water, the orderly took it from his mouth and poured a little on the ground. Apparently because he did this, the sentry trained his rifle on him and fired. The bullet entered at the neck and shoulder and came out at the hip.

The orderly cried out: "Don't shoot me again."

The sentry fired two more bullets into the man's body. He then emptied his clip at the man inside the hospital stockade, who ran for his life and was not hit.

APPENDIX II

IN 1907 THE nations gathered in The Hague, Germany among them, and after long and solemn deliberation, agreed upon a Convention that would, it was hoped, lift war above the jungle level. By way of showing how the Germans have violated every one of the laws and customs to which they subscribed, pledging their honour to full observance, Section III, dealing with "Military Authority over the Territory of the Hostile State," is here set down:

ART. 42

Territory is considered to be occupied when it is actually placed under the authority of the hostile army.

The occupation applies only to territories where such authority is established, and can be exercised.

ART. 43

The authority of the legitimate power having actually passed into the hands of the occupant, the latter shall take all steps in his power to re-establish and insure, as far as possible, public order and safety, while respecting, unless absolutely prevented, the laws in force in the country.

ART. 44

Any compulsion on the population of occupied territory to furnish information about the army of the other belligerent, or about his means of defence, is forbidden.

ART. 45

Any compulsion on the population of occupied territory to take the oath to the hostile Power is forbidden.

ART. 46

Family honour and rights, the lives of individuals and private property, as well as religious convictions and liberty of worship, must be respected.

Private property cannot be confiscated.

ART. 47

Pillage is formally prohibited.

ART. 48

If, in the territory occupied, the occupant collects the taxes, dues, and tolls imposed for the benefit of the State, he shall do it, as far as possible, in accordance with the rules in existence and the assessment in force, and will in consequence be bound to defray the expenses of the administration of the occupied territory on the same scale as that to which the legitimate Government was bound.

ART. 49

If, besides taxes referred to in the preceding Article, the occupant levies other money contributions in the occupied territory, this can only be for military necessities or the administration of such territory.

ART. 50

No general penalty, pecuniary or otherwise, can be inflicted on the population on account of the acts of individuals for which it cannot be regarded as collectively responsible.

ART. 51

No contribution shall be collected except under a written order and on the responsibility of a Commander-in-Chief.

This levy shall only take place, as far as possible, in accordance with the rules in existence and the assessment in force for taxes.

For every contribution a receipt shall be given to the payer.

ART. 52

Neither requisitions in kind nor services can be demanded from communes or inhabitants except for the necessities of the army of occupation. They must be in proportion to the resources of the country, and of such a nature as not to imply for the population any obligation to take part in military operations against their country.

These requisitions and services shall only be demanded on the authority of the Commander in the locality occupied.

Supplies in kind shall as far as possible be paid for in ready money; if not their receipt shall be acknowledged and the payment of the amount due shall be made as soon as possible.

ART. 53

An army of occupation can only take possession of cash, funds and realizable securities which are strictly the property of the State, depots of arms, means of transport, stores and supplies, and, generally, all movable property of the State which may be used for operations of war.

All appliances, whether on land, at sea, or in the air, adapted for the transmission of news or for the transport of persons or goods apart from cases governed by maritime law, depots of arms, and, generally, all kinds of war material may be seized, even though belonging to private persons, but they must be restored and indemnities for them regulated at the peace.

* * *

ART. 55

The occupying State shall regard itself only as administrator and usufructuary of the public buildings, immovable property, forests and agricultural undertakings belonging to the hostile State, and situated in the occupied country. It must protect the capital of these properties, and administer it according to the rules of usufruct.

ART. 56

The property of the communes, that of institutions dedicated to religious worship, charity, education, art and science, even when belonging to the State, shall be treated as private property.

All seizure of, and destruction, or intentional damage done to such institutions, historical monuments, works of art and science, is forbidden, and should be made the subject of legal proceedings.

APPENDIX III

NEUTRALS AND WAR CRIMINALS

AT THE END of July, 1944, His Britannic Majesty's representatives at Ankara, Berne, Buenos Aires, Lisbon, Madrid, Stockholm, and the Vatican were instructed to make a communication in the following terms to the Governments to which they are accredited:

In view of developments in Italy and the possibility that Mussolini, prominent Fascists, and other war criminals may attempt to take asylum in neutral territory, H.M. Government feel obliged to call upon all neutral countries to refuse asylum to any such persons, and to declare that they will regard any shelter, assistance, or protection given to such persons as a violation of the principles for which the United Nations are fighting, and which they are determined to carry into effect by every means in their power.

ARGENTINE.—A Note was handed to the British Ambassador in Buenos Aires on 31st August declaring that Argentina had always maintained the right of sanctuary "as a humanitarian institution to prevent blind acts of vengeance in moments of political passion", and reserved the right to decide each case on its merits; although stating at the same time that internal and external sanctuary would be granted for "political reasons and offences" only. This reply was not considered altogether satisfactory by the British and American Governments, and on 7th September Mr. Cordell Hull, U.S. Secretary of State, announced that a more definite statement from the Argentine remained necessary. So it was that on 29th September it was announced in Buenos Aires that Dr. Carcano, Argentine Ambassador in London, had assured the British Government in a *note verbale* that his country would not give refuge to Axis war criminals; and a communiqué issued by the Argentine Foreign Office stated that: (1) In no event would persons accused of war crimes be allowed in Argentine territory; and (2) Neither would they be allowed to create capital deposits or acquire property of any kind.

PORTUGAL.—In the House of Commons on 11th October Mr. Law, Minister of State, announced that the Portuguese Government had informed H.M. Government that it would not, by granting asylum in its territory, permit war criminals to escape the decisions of the national or international tribunals competent to try them.

SPAIN.—H.M. Ambassador in Madrid, announced Mr. Eden, Foreign Secretary, in the House on 4th October, had received assurances that it was not the intention of the Spanish Government to provide asylum for war criminals in Spain.

SWITZERLAND.—On 6th August the Swiss Federal Council studied the Allied notes, and it was announced in Berne that Switzerland would exercise her right of asylum in full sovereignty and in conformity with the best interests of the country. But on 20th September it was authoritatively stated in Zurich that no members of the Gestapo or S.S. would be allowed to stay on Swiss territory.

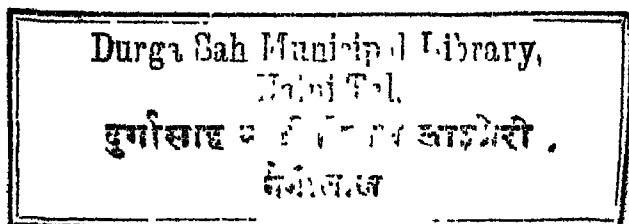
SWEDEN.—The Stockholm radio commentator announced on 9th August that the Swedish Government must reserve to itself the right to decide whether or not political refugees were to be extradited, and it could not tolerate any interference in this matter, although at the same time it was made clear that

such people as Quisling and his followers would be regarded not as political refugees, but as war criminals. If any such persons sought asylum in Swedish territory they would be returned to their own country. A month later, on 5th September, Mr. Muller, Swedish Minister of Social Welfare, declared in Stockholm that though Sweden's policy had been to keep her frontier open to refugees, it should not be concluded that Sweden would be open or prepared to grant asylum to those who by their actions have defied the conscience of the civilized world or betrayed their own country.

TURKEY.—A Government statement was broadcast from Ankara on 11th September. The Turkish Government, it stated, had decided not to admit any civilian or military refugee attempting to cross into Turkish territory over the state frontiers, or any nationals of the Axis powers, whether civilian or military, seeking refuge on Turkish soil by landing on the Ægean or Mediterranean coasts of the Turkish mainland. The Turkish frontier authorities had been ordered to enforce this decision.

EIRE.—Subsequently it transpired that similar representations had been made in Dublin. In the House of Commons on 14th November Mr. Emrys-Evans, Under-Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs, was asked whether any reply had been received from the Government of Eire to the representations of H.M. Government. Mr. Emrys-Evans stated that the Eire Government had informed H.M. Government that in their view the right to grant asylum was not in question, and that they could give no assurance which would preclude them from exercising their right should justice, charity, or the honour or the interest of the nation so require. They also referred to the absence of a comprehensive international code applicable to the matter, and to the lack of a generally recognized court or procedure for the judicial determination of individual cases. On the other hand, however, they stated that since the present war began it had been the uniform practice of the Eire Government to deny admission to all aliens whose presence would be at variance with the policy of neutrality or detrimental to the interests of the Irish people, or inconsistent with the desire of the Irish people to avoid injury to the interests of friendly States, and that when such aliens land, they are deported to their countries of origin as soon as possible. It was not intended to alter this practice. In informing the House of this reply Mr. Emrys-Evans added that the British Government wished to make it clear that it would certainly, in the words of the Eire Government, be "detrimental to the interests of the Irish people" were war criminals to be harboured in Eire.

It may be added that in the House of Commons on 4th October, Mr. Churchill replied to those who had suggested that there were still loopholes of escape for the chief Nazi war criminals. He was asked by Mr. Mander whether Hitler, Goering, Goebbels, and Himmler were on the British or United Nations' list of war criminals for trial in due course. His reply was that so far as the British list was concerned "the parties mentioned are included, but it should not be assumed that the procedure of trial will necessarily be adopted."



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